MANDŪ

The City of Joy

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Lo, the owl hath built her nest
In Shirwan Shāh's high storey,
Warning nightly by her cry,
'Where now thy pomp and glory?'

AKBAR'S INSCRIPTION AT MANDŪ

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PREFACE

THE romantic history of Mandū and the tales of its beautiful monuments had always fascinated me and I often dreamt of visiting the Pleasure City (Shādīābād) where King Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn held a retinue of 15,000 damsels or where the gallant Chief, Bāz Bahādur, was allured by the sweet voice of Rūpmatī. The realization of my dreams, however, came in a somewhat unexpected manner.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dhār, in whose territory Mandū is situated, came to hear of my interest in archaeology and was kind enough to send me an assurance of welcome and an invitation to visit his State. His Exalted Highness the Nizam was graciously pleased to grant me permission to take advantage of this kind offer and to treat my stay at Mandū as time spent on duty. This was in 1925, but shortly afterwards the regrettable news of the illness and subsequent death of the Maharaja of Dhār was received, and thus I never had the privilege of seeing the Ruler who had invited me to Mandū and whose name is so honoured in Central India.

The Dhār Darbar, however, continued to evince interest in my visit, and when I went over there in March 1927, the Dīwan, Rao Bahādur K. Nadkar, was kind enough not only to arrange for the comfort of my party, but also to lend me the services of a draughtsman to draw the plans of the important buildings. In the end, the Dhār Darbar were also pleased to propose that the results of my studies should be published at their expense in the form of a guide-book. I have therefore to thank the Dhār Darbar most sincerely not only for

their hospitality and courtesy, but also for the opportunity they have given me of publishing the results of my studies in their present form.

As to the scope of this book, I must explain that it has been written for the ordinary visitor and may therefore be found lacking in those details which can be incorporated only in monographs of greater bulk. No endeavour, however, has been spared to present to the reader a clear account of the monuments, and with this object a large number of photographs and architectural plans have been included in the book.

Among previous works on Mandū two deserve special notice. One of them is the learned article by Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. M. Campbell,[1] which deals most carefully with the Moslem history of Mandū and may be studied with advantage by all interested in the subject.[2] The other work is the *History of Mandū, the Ancient Capital of Malwa*, by 'a Bombay Subaltern'.[3] The author has given an extremely vivacious account of his journey to Mandū, in which place it is as difficult to forget him as to forget Washington Irving in the Alhambra.

Finally, I wish to pay a tribute to the work at Mandū of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, to whose care and attention the preservation of the monuments is mainly due. I must add that the Darbar have spared no trouble or expense in carrying out the

[1] Published in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix, pp. 154–201, for 1895–7.

[2] The translations of the inscriptions as given in this article are not very accurate, and for them I would refer the reader to the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for 1909–10 and 1911–12.

[3] Originally published in 1855 and reprinted in Bombay in 1875.

suggestions of the department for the clearance of jungle and the repairs of masonry.

Before concluding I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. John Johnson, the Printer of the Oxford University Press, for his willing assistance and expert advice in the printing of the book.

G. YAZDANI.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1st May, 1928.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

CHAPTER II

History

ABUL FAḌL narrates an amusing story in connexion with the building of Mandū. He writes: 'Learned Hindus assert that a stone is met with in this country which when touched by any malleable metal turns it into gold, and they call it *Pāras*. They relate that before the time of Bikramajit, there reigned a just prince named Raja Jai Sing Deva who passed his life in deeds of beneficence. Such a stone was discovered in that age, and became the source of vast wealth. The sickle of a straw-cutter by its action was changed into gold. The man, not understanding the cause, thought that some damage had occurred to it. He took it to a blacksmith by name Māndan to have it remedied, who, divining its properties, took possession of it and amassed immense wealth. But his natural beneficence suggested to him that such a priceless treasure was more fitted for the reigning prince, and going to court he presented it. The Raja made it the occasion of many good deeds, and by means of the riches he acquired, completed this fort (Mandū) in twelve years, and at the request of the blacksmith the greater number of the stones with which it was built were shaped like an anvil. One day he held a festival on the banks of the Narbada, and promised to bestow a considerable fortune on his Brahman priest. As he had somewhat withdrawn his heart from worldly goods, he presented him with this stone. The Brahman from ignorance and meanness of soul became indignant and threw the precious treasure into the river, to his subsequent and eternal regret. Its depth there prevented

his recovering it, and to this day that part of the river has never been fathomed.'[1]

The emperor Jahāngīr repeats the story in his *Memoirs*, but his critical mind could not accept it, so he remarks rather curtly: 'It appears to me to be all delusion.'[2] Firishta ascribes the building of Mandū to 'Anand-dew Rajpoot of the tribe of Beis, who lived in the age of Khoosrow Purvees (590–628) and died after a reign of sixteen years.'[3] The last-named historian's account of the early rajas of India is again based on legends and no great importance can be attached to his statement, but recently a copper-plate grant of Jayavarmadeva, dated A.D. 1261, has been found which mentions Mandū[4] as having been 'One of the last strongholds of the Paramāra Kings'.[5] The latter version is supported by the Hindu remains of Mandū, which, according to tradition or the style of architecture, can be placed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries A.D.,[6] the period of Paramāra supremacy in Malwa. The history of Mandū, which on account of its unique natural defences must have been a fortress from time immemorial, is unknown prior to the rule of the Paramāras (8th–13th centuries A.D.), and of that period also the data hitherto collected are too scanty to form a continuous account.

[1] *Jarrett's* English translation, vol. ii, p. 197.

[2] *Rogers and Beveridge*, vol. i, pp. 364–5.

[3] *Briggs*, vol. i, p. lxxx.

[4] It is mentioned as Mandapa-durga in the Sanskrit plates of the Paramāra period. *Annual Report*, A.S.I., 1903–4, p. 30.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] The tank, Munja Talāo, is apparently after the name of the renowned Paramāra King Munja, who ruled in the latter part of the tenth century. Again the ruins of the Temple near the Lohānī Gate and the carved masonry of the ceiling of the Hindolā Maḥall may range in period from the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D. (*infra*, pp. 72–122).

The Musalmans appeared on the scene in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, when Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish marched an army towards Malwa and conquered Ujjain, then the seat of government.[1] This invasion had apparently no lasting effect, for in 705 A.H. (A.D. 1305) 'Rai Mahlak Deo, of Malwa, and Koka, his Pradhan, forsake the path of obedience', thus giving umbrage to the Sulṭān, 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khaljī. A select army of royal troops was appointed, and the Sulṭān directed his confidential chamberlain, 'Ain-ul-Mulk, to expel Mahlak Deo from Mandū 'and to cleanse that old Gabristan from the stench of infidelity'. A spy showed 'Ain-ul-Mulk a way secretly into the fort (Mandū), and he advanced upon Mahlak Deo 'before even his household gods were aware of it'. The Rā'i was slain while attempting to fly, and Mandū was added to the government of 'Ain-ul-Mulk.[2]

Firishta, on the other hand, places the first conquest of Malwa by the Musalmans during the reign of Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn Balban of Delhi (A.D. 1265–87), and observes that from that time the province acknowledged allegiance to the Sulṭāns of Delhi until the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1389–94), when the Governor, Dilāwar Khān Ghorī, acquired complete authority.[3]

The history of Mandū in the proper sense begins with the government of Dilāwar Khān, who assumed 'the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty' in the year 804 A.H. (A.D. 1401),[4] after the disruption of the Delhi empire consequent upon the invasion of Tīmūr. The original name of Dilāwar Khān was Ḥusain, and his

[1] *Briggs*, vol. i, p. 193.

[2] *Tarīkh-i-'Alā'ī*, as translated by Elliot, vol. iii, pp. 76 and 550.

[3] *Briggs*, vol. iv, p. 68, and *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. ii, p. 407.

[4] *Briggs*, vol. iv, p. 170.

forefathers came from Ghor and took service in the court of the Delhi Sulṭāns. Ḥusain came into notice during the reign of Fīroz Tughluq, and acquired the title of Dilāwar Khān (the Valiant Khān), which became so popular that it survived even after his adopting the regal title of ʿAmīd Shāh Dā'ūd[1] on his declaring independence in Malwa. The government of the latter province was conferred on him by Sulṭān Muḥammad, the son of Fīroz Tughluq, in recognition of the services which Dilāwar Khān had rendered him when he was but a prince.[2]

Dilāwar Khān, although he considered Dhār to be the seat of his government, frequently visited Mandū, remaining there sometimes for months together.[3] He had an ambitious son Alp Khān, who on his accession assumed the title of Hoshang Shāh. Firishta states that Alp Khān did not approve the homage paid by Dilāwar Khān to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Tughluq of Delhi, when he was driven out of the capital by Amīr Tīmūr.[4] He retired to Mandū during the stay of Maḥmūd Tughluq in Malwa and laid the foundation of the celebrated fortress, which was afterwards completed during his reign.[5] The fortification and the improvement of Mandū seem to have well advanced during Dilāwar Khān's regime, for on the Tārāpūr Gate[6] an inscription is carved

[1] In the *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* (Elliot, iv, 553) Dilāwar Khān is styled Amīn Shāh. This is apparently a mistake for ʿAmīd Shāh, which title is mentioned by Jahāngīr (*Memoirs*, Rogers and Beveridge, vol. ii, p. 407) and also preserved in the inscriptions of the King carved on the Lāt Masjid at Dhār (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, pp. 11–12).

[2] *Firishta* (Persian text), vol. ii, pp. 461–2.

[3] *Briggs*, vol. iv, p. 168.

[4] Firishta writes that Dilāwar Khān assumed the royal titles at the instance of his son. *Ibid.*, p. 169. [5] *Idem.*

[6] In addition to the Tārāpūr Gate another building, which can

which mentions that it was built by Dilāwar Khān in 809 A.H. (A.D. 1406–7), when the city, apparently on account of its hilarious surroundings, had already been re-named as Shādīābād (or the City of Joy).[1] Another proof of the new City having become the favourite resort of Dilāwar Khān may be had from the text of the inscription carved on the Lāt Masjid at Dhār, which is dated Mandūgarh, showing that the King held his court at the latter place, when the design of the inscription was approved.[2]

In A.D. 1405 Dilāwar Khān died and Alp Khān ascended his father's throne under the title of *As-Sulṭān-ul-Aʿẓam Ḥusām-ud-Dunya wad-Dīn Abu-l-Mujāhid Hoshang Shāh As-Sulṭān*.[3] He ruled Malwa for nearly twenty-seven years and extended his territory as far as Kālpī in the north and down to Kherla in the south, while to aggrandize his power towards the west he waged a continuous war with the kings of Gujarat. His ambition and warlike nature brought him into conflict with Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, King of Delhi (1421–33), Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr (1400–40), and

be attributed to Dilāwar Khān with certainty, is the mosque built at the back of the Jahāz Maḥall near the north end of the Royal enclosure. The building bears an inscription and is still associated with the name of Dilāwar Khān (*infra*, pp. 74–5). See also *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 20.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 19. Firishta writes that it was Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghorī, the third King of Malwa, who gave Mandū the new title of Shādīābād, but the coins of his father, Hoshang Shāh, bear Shādīābād as the mint name, while the Tārāpūr Gate inscription leaves no doubt that the name was given to the City during Dilāwar Khān's reign. Vide *Briggs*, iv, 191, and Wright's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. ii, pp. 246–7.

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 12.

[3] *Wright*, vol. ii, pp. 246–7.

[4] *Briggs*, vol. iv, pp. 172–85.

Aḥmad Shāh Baihmanī of Gulbarga (1422–35).[1] Mandū was besieged several times during Hoshang Shāh's reign, and at one time he was carried away prisoner by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarat, and one Nuṣrat Khān was appointed as Governor of Malwa. But fortune shortly afterwards smiled upon Hoshang, and he was released from confinement and reinstated on the throne of Malwa.[2]

A most daring piece of adventure was the expedition which he led against the Raja of Jājnagar (Orissa), in order to secure elephants for his army. Firishta has narrated it in considerable detail and I quote him here. 'In the year 825 (A.D. 1421) Hoshang left Mandū with one thousand chosen cavalry, assuming the character of a merchant, and marched to Jājnagar, one month's journey from Malwa. In order the better to conceal his object, he took with him horses of different colours, viz. bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey, such as the Prince of Jājnagar was known to admire most, and many other kinds of merchandise considered scarce in his country, which the King intended to barter for elephants. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja, according to the custom of his country, intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen goods, and then either to purchase them with money or to barter elephants for them. The appointed day arrived, and the goods were spread out on the ground, but on account of the heavy appearance of the weather, Sulṭān Hoshang told the people that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted on their remaining exposed till their master came, and at the same time the horses were all saddled for inspection. The Raja at length arrived, and a

[1] *Briggs*, vol. iv, pp. 183–5, and *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett's translation), vol. ii, pp. 219–20.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–3.

thunder-storm coming on shortly after, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Sulṭān Hoshang, smarting under the loss he had sustained, ordered his followers to mount, and without hesitation attacked the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, and the Prince himself taken prisoner, after which Sulṭān Hoshang informed him of his real rank. Thus situated, the Raja of Jājnagar purchased his liberty with seventy-five large elephants, but Sulṭān Hoshang obliged him, as a measure of precaution, to accompany him as far as the confines of his country, whence he permitted him to return, but not without having received from him a few more of his finest elephants.'[1]

Hoshang with his warlike nature seems to have possessed a sympathetic heart for which his subjects adored him.[2] His tomb acquired sanctity shortly after his death and a large religious assembly ('Urs) used to be held at his mausoleum every year until quite recently, for the 'Bombay Subaltern' refers to it in his account published in 1844. Abul Faḍl, in the vein of a sceptic, disposes of the miracle—the rocks shedding tears on the King's death—attributed to the tomb of Hoshang Shāh during his time. He writes: 'A remarkable fact is that in summer time water trickles from the domed roof of the Mausoleum of Sulṭān Hoshang and the simple-minded have long regarded it as a prodigy, but the more acute of understanding can satisfactorily account for it.'[3] In

[1] *Briggs*, vol. iv, pp. 178–9, and *Ā'in* (Jarrett's translation), vol. ii, p. 219.

[2] He was also an impartial ruler. At Deogarh, near Lalitpūr in the United Provinces, an inscription of Saṃvat 1481 (A.D. 1424) records the dedication of two Jaina images during the reign of Shāh Alambhaka of Mandapapura, that is, of Shāh Alp Khān (Hoshang Shāh) of Mandū. Vide Campbell's *Mandū* (*J.B.R.A.S.* xix, 163).

[3] *Ā'in* (Jarrett's translation), vol. ii, p. 197. Firishta also on the

this age of disbelief the miracle has ceased to work, very much to the chagrin of pious votaries. Perhaps the discontinuance is due to the administration of lime to the open joints of the building, which had previously to this received a supply of divine moisture from the clouds to shed tears of mercy on the demise of the King!

The greatest claim for Hoshang's name to be transmitted to posterity is his fine taste for architecture, which made Mandū not only one of the most impregnable forts of India,[1] but also a magnificent city. He erected there a large number of stately edifices, among which the Great Mosque, the Delhi Darwāzah and his own tomb, for boldness of design and grace of finish,

basis of a history of Hoshang Shāh records this phenomenon, observing, 'Water constantly oozes from the sides of his vault, between the apertures of the masonry.' *Briggs*, iv, 190.

[1] Firishta and Emperor Jahāngīr have both referred to the defences of the Fort in eulogistic terms, and a quotation from the former may perhaps be of interest to readers. He writes: 'This fortification being one of the most extraordinary in the world, I think it proper in this place to give some description of it. It is built on the summit of an insulated mountain, said to be nineteen *coss* in circumference (28 miles). The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a deep ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandū must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads, for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep, and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of the Tārāpūr Gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty find a way up, and on whatever side it is approached a pass must be surmounted, so that the enemy's force, though it occupies the several accessible roads, is necessarily divided, and one party may be cut off without receiving assistance from another. The road on the north leading to the Delhi Gate is by far the most easy of access.' *Briggs*, iv, 180–1.

take rank among the finest monuments in the East.[1] Sulṭān Hoshang had from the beginning evinced great partiality towards Malik Maḥmūd, the son of his cousin, Malik Mughīth, the minister,[2] and later the King conferred on him the title of Khān and appointed him the deputy of his father. He also directed that wherever he should take the field that young man should accompany him, while Malik Mughīth remained at the capital. Maḥmūd Khān thus gradually rose to power, and when the King fell dangerously ill and knew that his end was near, he proclaimed his eldest son, Prince Ghaznī Khān, his successor, 'and delivered him into the hands of Maḥmūd Khān, who promised to support the right of the Prince to the throne even to the last drop of his blood'.[3] On the 9th of Dhu Ḥajj, 835 H. (7 August, A.D. 1432), Sulṭān Hoshang expired,[4] and two days after that Ghaznī Khān ascended the throne at Mandū assuming the titles, *As-Sulṭān-ul-Aʿẓam Tāj-ud-Dunya wad-Dīn Abu-l-Maḥāmid*,

[1] For a description of these buildings see *infra*, pp. 43–50.

[2] Malik Mughīth had espoused the cause of Sulṭān Hoshang against his rival Mūsa Khān, who was raised to the sovereignty of Malwa when Hoshang was carried away prisoner by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarat. Hoshang on his reinstatement appointed Malik Mughīth as his minister and retained implicit confidence in him throughout his reign. *Briggs*, iv, 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 178, and 188.

[4] The last remains of Hoshang were first temporarily entombed at Hoshangābād. Briggs, who visited the place in October 1817, writes: 'The place of interment is still shown by some pious Mohammadans, who reside on the spot, and the lines commemorative of his death were legible.

شهر والاقدر سلطان هوشنگ سوی دار البقا چون کرد آهنگ
بپرسیدم ز هاتف سال تاریخ ندا آمد نمانده شاه هوشنگ

Idem, p. 190.

Muḥammad Shāh as-Sulṭān.[1] Maḥmūd Khān showed much devotion to the King in the beginning, but later, when intrigue and jealousy put his own life in jeopardy, he felt no scruple in arranging for the murder of the King by bribing his cup-bearer, who administered poison in his wine.[2] This happened in 840 H. (A.D. 1436). Maḥmūd Khān, after this event, invited his father to assume the reins of government, but he declined, saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State.[3]

Of the reign of Muḥammad Ghorī there is no monument at Mandū, except the Mosque of Malik Mughīth[4] to the east of the Sāgar lake, which has an inscription dated the 4th Rajab, 835 H. (7 March, A.D. 1432).[5] The anomaly about this record is that although it bears the above date, which is a few months earlier than the death of Hoshang Shāh (7 August, A.D. 1432), it mentions in the text the name of Maḥmūd Khaljī as that of the reigning King, though he did not assume the royal title until 1436.[6] The only explanation possible is that the mosque was begun during the last year of Hoshang's reign (835 H.—A.D. 1432), but was not completed until Maḥmūd Khaljī declared himself the King. The writer

[1] Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 247.

[2] For the intrigues and treacherous dealings of Muḥammad Ghorī's reign (A.D. 1432–6) the reader is referred to the *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* (*Elliot*, iv, 552–4), as also to *Briggs*, iv, 192–4 and the *Ā'in* (Jarrett's translation), vol. ii, p. 220.

[3] Malik Mughīth always evinced great deference towards the descendants of his patron, Sulṭān Hoshang, and when during the reign of his son Maḥmūd disturbances arose in which the sons of the late king were involved, he interceded in their behalf and secured them pardon. *Ibid.*, pp. 194 and 197–8.

[4] For a description of this building see *infra*, pp. 82–6.

[5] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 21.

[6] Wright's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 242 and 247.

of the inscription has therefore given the date of the commencement of the building correctly; but for the name of the reigning King, as he had to please the ruler who happened to be on the throne when the inscription was drafted, he has mentioned the name of Maḥmūd Khaljī.[1]

Maḥmūd Khaljī crowned himself with the royal tiara of Sulṭān Hoshang in 840 H. (A.D. 1436) and ordered public prayers to be read in his name and coins struck.[2] On this occasion he also presented robes of honour to the officers of the State, and on his father, who already enjoyed the distinguished denomination of *Malik-i-Ashraf Khān-i-Jahān*, he conferred the still higher titles of *Amīr-ul-Umarā* and *Aʿẓam-i-Humāyūn*.[3] He further granted him the honour of using the white canopy and the silver quiver, exclusive marks of royalty, besides the privilege of being attended by gentlemen ushers, bearing golden and silver staves, who preceded him, when he appeared in public, proclaiming his titles, commencing 'By the grace of God' and so on.[4] Maḥmūd Khaljī bore very deep affection for his father and, when the latter died, during the siege of Mandisor, he became almost

[1] The coins of Muḥammad Ghorī bearing the royal title and the date 840 H. (A.D. 1436) are available at various museums, so there is no possibility of Maḥmūd Khaljī assuming the royal title in Rajab 835 H. (March, A.D. 1432) according to this inscription. For coins of Muḥammad Ghorī see Wright's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 247.

[2] *Briggs*, iv, 196, and *Wright*, ii, 242. The titles of the King, as given on his coins, are *As-Sulṭān-ul-Aʿẓam ʿAla-ud-Dunyā wad-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī as-Sulṭān*, to which he subsequently added the more ambitious honorifics of *Sikandar-uth-Thānī* and *Yamīn-ul-Khilāfat Nāṣir-u-Amīr-il-Mominīn*.

[3] Briggs has not translated properly the Persian text regarding the titles of Malik Mughīth, I have therefore followed the original in this matter. Vide *Firishta* (Persian text), vol. ii, p. 479.

[4] *Briggs*, iv, 196.

distracted with grief and 'tore his hair and raved like one bereaved of his senses'.[1]

The first year or two of Maḥmūd Khaljī's reign were spent in disposing of rival claimants and resisting an invasion by Gujarat. Having made his position firm, he spent the greater part of his long reign of thirty-three years in extending his influence, and under him the kingdom of Malwa reached its widest limit. The neighbouring province of Mewar was the object of frequent expeditions which met with alternating success and defeat. Rana Kumbha was, however, forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Malwa in 858 H. (A.D. 1454).[2] In memory of one of his victories over the Rana of Mewar, Maḥmūd Khaljī built at Mandū a lofty column, seven storeys high, of which only a fragment remains now.[3]

Maḥmūd Khaljī also reduced the minor states of Bundi, Kotah, Biyana, Ranthambor, and Qarauli, to the north of his territory, and in 859 H. (A.D. 1454) conquered the principality of Mandisor and captured Ajmer as well.[4] War was waged against the independent rulers of Gujarat, Jaunpur, and the Deccan, and even the Delhi Sulṭān was not left alone.[5]

He was a great patron of learning and founded several

[1] *Briggs*, iv, p. 209.
[2] *Ibid.*, 222.
[3] *Infra*, p. 58.
[4] *Briggs*, iv, 222.

[5] Firishta narrates the cause of the Delhi expedition thus: 'In the year 844, Sulṭān Maḥmūd received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi, stating that Syed Muḥammad, King of Delhi, the nephew and successor of Syed Mubārak, was totally incapable of supporting the weighty affairs of the government of his vast empire, that the oppressed were calling out on all sides for redress, and that the nation was anxious for Sulṭān Maḥmūd to march to Delhi, and ascend the throne. In consequence of these overtures, in the latter end of the same year, Sulṭān Maḥmūd put his army in motion for that purpose.' *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6, and *Elliot*, iv, 85.

colleges in different parts of his kingdom for the promotion of literature, as the result of which the philosophers and divines of Malwa bore a fair comparison with those of Shiraz and Samarqand.[1]

Firishta has commended the character of the King in no stinted terms, writing: 'Sulṭān Maḥmūd was polite, brave, just, and learned, and during his reign his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different Kings of the earth read. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature, a subject to which he devoted much attention.'[2]

The fame of his military prowess and high personal qualities seems to have spread in the Islamic world, for embassies arrived at his court from Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, the grandson of Tīmūr, who ruled in Transoxiana, and from the Amīr-ul-Mominīn Musta'id Bi'llah Yūsuf, the son of Muḥammad 'Abbāsī, the Caliph of Egypt. Flattered by these marks of attention he sent return embassies with a variety of rare presents such as 'muslins of all descriptions, Arab horses, dancing women and singers mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned, together with a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio and also a few *Mainas*[3] and parrots which had been taught the Persian language'.[4]

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 197. [2] *Ibid.*, 234.

[3] The well-known Indian talking bird, with dark plumage intermixed with yellow and white spots.

[4] *Briggs*, vol. iv, pp. 229 and 232. Abu-l-Faḍl (Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'īn*, vol. ii, p. 220), writing about the embassy from

Maḥmūd Khaljī was also fond of architecture and, besides completing the Great Mosque and Tomb of Sulṭān Hoshang and repairing the palace of the same monarch, he erected a number of lofty structures at Mandū and elsewhere.[1] The most magnificent of these was his own tomb, built entirely of marble and standing on a higher plinth than those of the mausoleum and the Jāmi' Masjid of Hoshang. This lofty structure was already in a parlous condition during Akbar's reign, whose engineers repaired it in an inartistic manner by inserting patches of red stone in beautiful dados of white marble.[2]

Among the other works of Maḥmūd mention may be made of the College (now styled the Ashrafī Maḥall) which he founded opposite the Mosque of Sulṭān Hoshang and at one end of which (north-west angle) stood the beautiful victory column which he erected in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Kumbha of Mewar.[3] The building of the College seems to have been disturbed during Maḥmūd's time, for we notice that the basement for his tomb was provided by filling up the court forming the inner quadrangle of the College.[4] Maḥmūd's buildings were grand and lofty in design, but having been built in a hurry or under the superintendence of incompetent architects they fell down shortly after his reign and are now in ruins.

Firishta writes that in 849 H. (A.D. 1445) the Sulṭān

Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, observes that it greatly redounded to the glory of Maḥmūd Khaljī.

[1] The King built some beautiful palaces and mosques at Nalcha (Na'lcha), a town on the way to Mandū from Dhār. In A.D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (*Central India*, i, 32 *n.*) fitted up one of Maḥmūd's palaces as a hot-weather residence. Maḥmūd also built a palace of seven storeys at Fatḥabād. *Briggs*, iv, 213.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 59–61. [3] *Infra*, p. 58. [4] *Infra*, p. 57.

also founded a large hospital at Mandū and, having granted lands for its maintenance, appointed Faḍl Ullah, his own physician, to superintend the institution. This hospital was so well arranged that it included wards and attendants for all classes of patients and that the apartments for maniacs were separate from the rest.[1]

In 873 H. (A.D. 1469) Maḥmūd died on his way back from an expedition against Kachwara, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn.[2]

This king was very just and kind-hearted, and immediately on his accession to the throne he conferred on his younger brother, Fidwī Khān, the government of Ranthambor to be held in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, 'Abdu-l-Qādir, prime minister, proclaiming him also heir-apparent with the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn and the distinction of using the *chatr* and *palki* (royal canopy and palanquin).[3] Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn had rendered conspicuous service as a general during

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 214.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 233. Firishta gives the following chronogram for the death of the King (19th Dhū Qā'dh, 873 H.):

شهی والاقدر سلطان محمود چون شه از امرحق رحلت گزینی

بپرسیدم ز هاتف سال تاریخ ندا آمد که شد جنت نشینی

Translation

'When the illustrious Sulṭān Maḥmūd, according to the will of God, went on his long journey, I asked of a courtier the date of his death, and a voice answered, "He has a place in heaven".'

The numerals of the last two words جنت نشینی give the date of his death.

[3] *Briggs*, iv, 236. The legends on his coins show that Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn bore the following titles: Al-Wāthiq bi-l-Maliki-l-Multajī Abu-l-Fatḥ Ghiyāth Shāh Al-Khaljī. Vide *Wright*, ii, 250.

the various expeditions led by the late Sulṭān,[1] so, on taking up the reins of government, he declared that he would now yield up the sword to his son and pass his life in peaceful pursuits.[2] Historians have painted his character in contradictory lights accentuating the traits of his soft compassionate nature. He had undoubtedly a peculiar fancy for women, and established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and had at one time fifteen thousand women in his service. Firishta writes: 'Among these were school mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers, women to read prayers, and persons of all professions and trades. Five hundred beautiful young Turki females in men's clothes, and clad in uniform, armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand and were called the Turki guard. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females also dressed in uniform and armed with fire-arms.'[3]

But notwithstanding this extraordinary fancy Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn was a deeply religious man and never missed his daily prayers,[4] nor did he ever taste wine or any intoxicating drug. In the *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* an

[1] *Briggs*, pp. 206, 217–18, 221, and 224.

[2] *Idem.*, p. 236, and *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. ii, p. 366.

[3] *Briggs*, iv, 236–7. Jahāngīr gives a similar account, adding a few more details. He writes: 'They say that he had collected 15,000 women in his harem. He had a whole city of them, and had made it up of all castes, kinds, and descriptions—artificers, magistrates, qazis, Kotwals, and whatever else is necessary for the administration of a town. Whenever he heard of a virgin possessed of beauty he would not desist until he possessed her. He taught the girls all kinds of arts and crafts, and was much given to hunt. He had made a deer park and collected all kinds of animals in it. He often used to hunt in it with his women.' Vide *Rogers and Beveridge*, vol. ii, pp. 366–7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 237, and *Elliot*, iv, 555.

amusing story is given to show his abhorrence of intoxicants, which may be quoted here. 'One day a potion (*māʿjūn*) was made for him, and when it was ready he was informed of it. He said it was not to be brought to him until he had heard the names of the ingredients in it. Accordingly, the list was brought and read to him. He heard it. There were three hundred and more ingredients in it, and among them was one drachm of nutmeg. He said the medicine was of no use to him. More than a lac of *tankas* had been spent for it, but he ordered it to be brought and thrown into the drain. A person begged that it might be given to somebody else, but he replied, what he could not allow himself to take, he would not give to others.'[1]

Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn enjoyed the result of the various treaties[2] which were concluded with the neighbouring powers during his father's time, and no invasion of the Malwa kingdom occurred during his reign, except the attack of Ranthambor by Bahlol Lodī, King of Delhi. This was effectively repulsed and Bahlol so chastised that he thought it advisable to pay a sum of money as ransom.[3]

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, referring to Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, has written that he ruled in Mandū with order and liberality,[4] which opinion is confirmed by the various tales of his justice and charity, extending even to animals and birds, given by different historians.[5]

[1] *Elliot*, iv, 555. [2] *Briggs*, vol. iv, pp. 213–14, 222 and 230.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv, 237–8. [4] Bayley's *Gujarat*, p. 169.
[5] Firishta writes: 'One day having observed a mouse in the royal apartment, he ordered it to receive its daily allowance of rice and money; and this absurdity extended to the tame pigeons, parrots, &c.' Vide *Briggs*, iv, 237. The reader is also referred to the *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* (*Elliot*, iv, 555), wherein some pleasant stories of the King's piety and bounty are given.

Near the end of his reign rivalry sprang up between his youngest son Shuja't Khān and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, the heir apparent, and it rose to such a pitch that Nāṣir, fearing that his brother might be depriving him of his claim to the throne, administered poison to the aged King. Jahāngīr has narrated the event most feelingly: 'It is well known that that wretch (Nāṣir-ud-Dīn) advanced himself by the murder of his own father, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, who was in his eightieth year. Twice he gave him poison, and he twice expelled it by means of a *zahr-muhra* (poison antidote, bezoar) he had on his arm. The third time he mixed poison in a cup of *sherbet* and gave it to his father with his own hand, saying he must drink it. As his father understood what efforts he was making in this matter, he loosened the *zahr-muhra* from his arm and threw it before him, and then turning his face in humility and supplication towards the throne of the Creator, who requires no supplication, said: "O Lord, my age has arrived at eighty years, and I have passed this time in prosperity and happiness such as has been attained to by no king. Now as this is my last time, I hope that Thou wilt not seize Nāṣir for my murder, and that reckoning my death as a thing decreed Thou wilt not avenge it." After he had spoken these words, he drank off that poisoned cup of *sherbet* at a gulp and delivered his soul to the Creator.'[1]

Firishta has tried to absolve Nāṣir-ud-Dīn from the charge of parricide by asserting that no circumstance was brought forward to prove the crime, nor does there appear any motive that should have actuated him to commit such an act, as he had already been declared heir apparent by his father's consent and had long conducted, without restraint, the affairs of the government.[2]

[1] *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 365–6. [2] *Briggs*, iv, 240.

The treatment offered to the last remains of Nāṣir by Sher Shāh as well as by Jahāngīr, both of whom visited Mandū and had reliable information at their disposal, however, leaves no doubt that Nāṣir was guilty of the crime.[1]

Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn having resided throughout his long reign at Mandū must have adorned the capital with a number of buildings. The picturesque palace, Jahāz Maḥall, with its beautiful adjuncts, in view of the refined taste of the King and his love of enjoyment, may be safely attributed to him.[2]

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn proclaimed himself as the King of Malwa on the 27th Rabī' II, 906 H. (20 November, A.D. 1500).[3] His accession was attended by a series of domestic feuds in which many of the nobles were involved. Of these Sher Khān, Governor of Chanderi, Sikandar Khān of Erich, and Mahābat Khān of Mandisor, making common cause, marched against the King, but the rebels were defeated and Sher Khān and Sikandar Khān killed in the action.[4]

[1] Jahāngīr writes: 'It is reported that when Sher Khān, the Afghan, in the time of his rule, came to the tomb of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, he, in spite of his brutish nature, on account of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's shameful conduct, ordered the head of the tomb to be beaten with sticks. Also when I went to his tomb I gave it several kicks, and ordered the servants in attendance on me to kick the tomb. Not satisfied with this, I ordered the tomb to be broken open and his impure remains to be thrown into the fire. Then it occurred to me that since fire is Light, it was a pity for the Light of Allāh to be polluted with burning his filthy body, also, lest there should be any diminution of torture for him in another state from being thus burnt, I ordered them to throw his crumbled bones, together with his decayed limbs, into the Narbada.' Vide *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 367.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 63–8.

[3] *Briggs*, iv, 241. The legend on the coins of this King reads thus: *Al-Wāthiq bi-ṣ-Ṣamad-i-lamyazalī Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nāṣir Shāh bin Ghiyāth Shāh al-Khaljī*. Vide *Wright*, ii, 253.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 241–2.

In the year 908 H. (A.D. 1502) troubles seem to have arisen also in Kachwara, where the King marched in person and punished the refractory Rajputs.[1] In the following year, viz. 909 H. (A.D. 1503), he led an expedition towards Chitor, where, having received a large present in money from the Rana, he married a Rajput princess,[2] to whom he gave the title of Queen of Chitor.[3]

As since the time of Maḥmūd Khaljī the rulers of Khandesh had owned allegiance to the kings of Malwa, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn deputed a large force to repulse the army of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh Baiḥrī, who had declared war against Dā'ūd Khān of Khandesh. But before the troops of Malwa reached their destination Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh retreated to Ahmadnagar and public prayers were read in the name of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn at Burhanpur.[4]

Although the King maintained order in his dominions he was a dipsomaniac and often committed acts of violence when in his cups. It is said that one day while lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir of water, he fell in. Four female slaves, who were standing by, at the risk of their own lives pulled him out, and taking off his wet clothes dressed him again. On recovering from his intoxication he complained of violent headache, and the female slaves mentioned the circumstance of his falling into the reservoir in order to account for it. The King, however, was so enraged, conceiving it to be untrue, and that the females only said so by way of reproaching him for his inebriety, that he drew his sword and put them all to death with his own hand, in spite of their cries for mercy, and

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 243. [2] She was the daughter of Raja Jīwan Dās.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Idem.*

although they exhibited the wet clothes which they had taken off him.[1]

During the latter part of his reign, the demon of filial ingratitude seems to have preyed heavily upon his mind and therefore he became suspicious of his own sons. This feeling grew so apparent that Prince Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the heir apparent, dreading the wrath of his father, fled to Delhi and refused to come back in spite of the remonstrances of the latter.[2]

In 916 H. (A.D. 1510) Nāṣir-ud-Dīn died of a burning fever, which he had apparently contracted by his evil habits.[3] Firishta writes that the King had shown keen penitence before his death and bequeathed his kingdom to his third son, Maḥmūd.[4]

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn was fond of building and he erected a magnificent palace at Akbarpur,[5] which according to Firishta was much admired by all who saw it.[6] He also built the beautiful palace near Rīwā Kund, now accredited to Bāz Bahādur.[7]

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 242–3; *Elliot*, vi, 350; and *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 367. [2] *Ibid.*, 244.

[3] *Ibid.* In the *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* it is, however, stated that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn was drowned. Vide *Elliot*, vi, 350.

[4] *Firishta* (Persian text), vol. ii, pp. 517–18.

[5] Campbell (*J.B.R.A.S.* xix, 173) has identified Akbarpur with the village of that name on the south bank of the Narbada about fifteen miles from Mandū. But Barnes (*ibid.*, xxi, 28 *n.*) in this connexion observes: 'It is difficult to locate this place. It is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence, and bear no resemblance to those of Mandū. Moreover, the Kachwara country lies far to the north of Mandū; the Chiefs of Raghugarh being the present descendants of the old Kachwara Rajputs who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.' Barnes's objection seems to be sound and the locality of Akbarpur should be traced somewhere in the Kachwara country. [6] *Briggs*, iv, 243.

[7] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 24; see also *infra*, pp. 92–7.

In 916 H. (A.D. 1510) Sulṭān Maḥmūd II crowned himself with great pomp and glory, 'on which occasion no fewer than seven hundred elephants, with velvet housings embroidered in gold, formed part of the procession'.[1] But shortly after his accession conspiracies were planned against him and rival princes acclaimed as Kings. Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī of Delhi[2] and Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gujarat espoused the cause of the elder brother of Maḥmūd, Ṣāḥib Khān, who assumed the title of Muḥammad II,[3] while the chief of Khandesh tried to help the claim of Shihāb-ud-Dīn and, when the latter died, the title of his son to the throne was proclaimed under the name of Hoshang II.[4] In these feuds a Rajput Chief, Mednī Rā'i, rendered most valuable service to Maḥmūd II and thus gained undue influence over the King.[5] The power of Mednī Rā'i ultimately became a real menace to him and he was obliged to take refuge with Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gujarat.[6] The latter King treated Maḥmūd II generously and led an expedition in person to oust Mednī Rā'i and to reinstate Maḥmūd II on the throne of Malwa. This was successfully accomplished,[7] but Maḥmūd in the reign of Muẓaffar II's suc-

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 246.

[2] Sikandar Lodī really endeavoured to get Malwa for himself, for an attempt to assert his supremacy was actually made by some of the officers of Sikandar Lodī which caused a breach between the Delhi Sulṭān and Sāḥib Khān's party, and this ended in the retreat of the former to Delhi. *Bayley*, p. 252 *n.*, and *Briggs*, iv, 252–6.

[3] The copper coins of Muḥammad II are preserved in the cabinets of various museums. Vide *Wright*, ii, 259.

[4] *Briggs*, iv, 250.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 247–62, and *Bayley*, pp. 255–61. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Briggs*, iv, 257–62; *Bayley* (Gujarat), pp. 254–61; and *Elliot*, iv, 386. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* gives a vivid description of the banquet which Maḥmūd gave to Muẓaffar Shāh on this occasion.

cessor, Bahādur Shāh, intrigued with the rival prince, Chānd Khān, and incurred displeasure. Bahādur Shāh marched towards Mandū and laid siege to the Fort, ultimately conquering it on the 9th Shā'bān, 932 H. (21 May, A.D. 1526).[1] Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Champaner for confinement, but on the way the troops carrying Maḥmūd were attacked by a party of Bhils, and the Gujarat general, Āṣaf Khān, suspecting that the attack was made to effect the release of Maḥmūd, ordered the King and his son to be put to death.[2] This happened on the 14th of Shā'bān, 932 H. (26 May, A.D. 1526), and the kingdom of Malwa was subsequently incorporated with that of Gujarat.

Maḥmūd II was brave and courageous, but also highly credulous and most indiscreet in matters of administration, and the latter shortcomings ultimately led to his ruin.[3]

It mentions: 'On the eleventh of Ṣafar, Sulṭān Muẓaffar visited the fort, and all the people of the city, in enormous bands, great and small, male and female, came out to see him, standing on the walls and on the house-tops, and expressed their thanks and blessings. Sulṭān Maḥmūd entertained him most sumptuously. After the banquet he conducted him round the palace. Unexpectedly they entered a building in which there was a quadrangle, painted and gilded, with rooms all round. As soon as they were in the middle the doors of all the rooms opened, and the women of Sulṭān Maḥmūd appeared at them, beautifully dressed and adorned, and looking like *ḥūrīs* and *parīs*. They brought plates full of gems and golden ornaments like the peacocks of Heaven, for Sulṭān Muẓaffar. Sulṭān Muẓaffar, when he saw them, said, "To look on what is unlawful is a crime". Sulṭān Maḥmūd said that they and all he had were at Sulṭān Muẓaffar's disposal. The latter thanked him, but begged that they might return within the *pardah*; and at a signal they all instantly disappeared like fairies.' Vide *Bayley*, pp. 260–1.

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 265–9, and *Bayley*, pp. 349–53.

[2] *Briggs*, iv, 269. Maḥmūd II was buried in the vicinity of the tank at Dohad.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 246–68.

Among the monuments of Mandū, the two buildings styled Gadā Shāh's House and Gadā Shāh's Shop[1] were perhaps built during Maḥmūd II's reign by Mednī Rā'i, the *de facto* ruler of Malwa. The former of these two buildings is situated in the royal enclosure and contains two paintings, representing a chief and a queen, which may be identified with Mednī Rā'i and his consort.[2]

The building styled Daryā Khān's tomb was also probably built during Maḥmūd's reign, for an officer called Daryā Khān Lodī was employed at his court.[3] Malwa remained a dependency of Gujarat till 941 H. (A.D. 1534) when Humāyūn conquered the Fort of Mandū, having scaled its walls by means of ladders and ropes somewhere near the Tārāpūr Gate. Sulṭān Bahādur, who had shut himself up in the Fort, was asleep when the Imperial army, jumping down from the walls, opened the gates and brought in their horses. The cries of Mallū Khān, an officer of the late Khaljī government, aroused Bahādur, who rushed out with a few attendants to attack Humāyūn's troops. Afterwards he made his way towards Songarh, the Citadel of Mandū, and having let his horses down the precipice by ropes, escaped to Champaner.[4] Humāyūn subsequently took up his residence at Mandū, when he cleared the province of rebels, settled the affairs of the conquered country of Gujarat, and suppressed the revolts in the vicinity of the capital.[5] But when he returned to Agra, Mallū Khān retook all the country between the Narbada and the town of Bhilsa, after a struggle of twelve months against the

[1] Shāh is apparently a corrupt form of the Hindu term *Sāh*, from which we get the title *Sāhū* generally given to bankers. In Persian writings this term is often written as *Sheh*, from which the modern title *Seth* is derived.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 80–1. [3] *Briggs*, iv, 267, and *Bayley*, p. 349.

[4] *Elliot*, vi, 14, and *Briggs*, iv, 271. [5] *Elliot*, vi, 15.

Delhi officers, and caused himself to be crowned in Mandū under the title of Qādir Shāh in 943 H. (A.D. 1536).[1] He ruled Malwa for nearly six years, till 949 H. (A.D. 1542), when Sher Shāh, who had established himself upon the throne of Delhi, marched upon Mandū. Qādir Shāh, finding his resources incapable of resisting the invading forces, threw himself on the mercy of Sher Shāh, but the latter appointed his minister and relative, Shujā' Khān, as governor of Malwa, giving over to him the country round Ujjain and Sarangpur.[2]

Shujā' Khān was an accomplished soldier and he successfully quelled the rebellion which arose in Malwa owing to the machinations of Qādir Shāh. Shujā' Khān ruled Malwa till 962 H. (A.D. 1554), when he died, although for a short time, owing to some misunderstanding between him and Salīm Shāh, the son of Sher

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 271. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Persian text, p. 298) Mallū received his title of Qādir Shāh from Sulṭān Maḥmūd III of Gujarat (A.D. 1536–44), on the recommendation of his minister, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who was a great friend of Mallū.

[2] *Briggs*, iv, 271–2. Firishta thus accounts for the invasion of Malwa by Sher Shāh: 'Shortly after his accession, Qādir Shāh received a *firman*, with a seal on the face of it, from Sher Shāh Purbī Afghan, King of Bengal, stating that Humāyūn Pādshāh was on the march to attack him, and that he desired the King of Malwa to make a movement towards Agra, which would distract the operations of the King of Delhi, and give the former an opportunity of acting with effect on that monarch's territory. On the receipt of this *firman* or order, Qādir Shāh was so incensed that he insisted on his secretary writing a *firman* in return with the seal upon the face of it (indicating his superiority over Sher Shāh). When Sher Shāh received the answer, he tore off the seal, and putting it on the point of his sword, said, "If it please God that I should ever meet Qādir Shāh, I will then put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address", and in consequence, when he ascended the throne of Delhi he marched to conquer Malwa.' *Ibid.*

Shāh, he was deprived of his governorship and 'Isā Khān appointed in his place. He was shortly afterwards reinstated, and Firishta writes that, when Humāyūn re-established himself on the throne of Delhi, Shujā' Khān was on the point of declaring himself independent and of coining money, but 'a cruel fate snatched the cup of prosperity from his lips and death presented him with the potion of mortality'.[1]

Shujā' Khān,[2] during his lifetime, had divided his territory among his sons, Daulat Khān, Malik Bāyazīd, and Muṣṭafa Khān. On the death of Shujā' Khān, Malik Bāyazīd treacherously killed his brother Daulat Khān and crowned himself as the independent ruler of Malwa, assuming the title of Sulṭān Bāz Bahādur in 963 H. (A.D. 1555).[3]

Bāz Bahādur was a gallant king and he took possession of many towns in Malwa which were previously almost independent; but later he sustained such a disgraceful defeat from Ranī Durgawatī that he forswore fighting. Firishta writes that at this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and Bāz Bahādur devoted himself entirely to its cultivation and encouragement, and his attachment to Rūpmatī, a celebrated courtesan of that age, became so notorious, that the loves of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī have been handed down to posterity in song.[4] Akbar,

[1] *Idem*, p. 275.

[2] Shuja' Khān has been styled Shujā'at Khān and also Shujāwal Khān by some historians. Firishta writes that among the public works which do credit to Shujā' Khān's memory is the town of Shujāwalpūr near Ujjain (*Briggs*, iv, 276) and the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (*Elliot*, v, 168).

[3] *Briggs*, iv, 276.

[4] *Ibid.*, 277–8. Mr. L. M. Crump recently discovered a Persian manuscript containing the life-history of Rūpmatī, which he has translated into English together with the songs attributed to

taking advantage of this state of Malwa under Bāz Bahādur, ordered an army commanded by Adham Khān, in the latter end of the year 968 H. (A.D. 1561), to march and occupy that country. Niẓām-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, has described this expedition in detail and he may be quoted here: 'Bāz Bahādur was the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindī song. He spent much of his time in the society of singers and musicians. When the Imperial army was but ten *kos* from Sarangpur, Adham Khān sent forward an advanced force to the entrenchments which Bāz Bahādur had thrown up around his army. Several attempts were made to entice him out of his lines, and the royal forces drew together in order to surround him. Bāz Bahādur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and withdrew, and he himself was obliged to fly. Rūpmatī, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry, several other wives, and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were escaping, a eunuch of Bāz Bahādur wounded Rūpmatī with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and, when Adham Khān summoned her to his presence, she committed suicide by poisoning herself.'[1]

Adham Khān, shortly after this victory, was called back to Delhi and Pīr Muḥammad Khān appointed in his place as the Governor of Malwa. In A.D. 1561 Bāz Bahādur, with the help of Mīrān Mubārak Khān of Khandesh, gave a crushing defeat to Pīr Muḥammad

Rūpmatī. Vide *Lady of the Lotus*, Oxford University Press, 1926.

[1] *Elliot*, v, 270–1. *Firishta* (Persian text, ii, 540–1) has described this event with great poetic zest and skill.

Khān, who was slain in the action, and the Mughal troops were driven out of Malwa.[1] Akbar, on receiving the news of this disaster, deputed 'Abdullāh Khān to punish Bāz Bahādur, and the former marched upon Malwa towards the end of the year 969 H. (A.D. 1562). Bāz Bahādur, being unable to withstand the Mughal force, fled to the hills of Gondwara. Afterwards he found protection for some time with Rana Udi Singh of Mewar, whence he repaired to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of Akbar. The Emperor granted him a *mansab* of 2,000.[2]

Among the monuments of Mandū, ascribed to Bāz Bahādur, mention may be made of the beautiful reservoir, Rīwā Kund,[3] and of the palace close by and also

[1] *Briggs*, iv, 278–9.

[2] *Elliot*, v, 275–6, and the *Ā'īn* (Blochmann), i, 428.

[3] About the Rīwā Kund the following story is related: 'Bāz Bahādur was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Narbada. Having outridden all his retinue he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargat* tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand. The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures: "When the Narbada shall flow through Mandū, I will be thy bride, but not till then." Bāz Bahādur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist", he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love, repair to Mandū, to a spot which overlooks

of the pavilions built on the crest of the southern ridge which are associated with the name of his consort Rūpmatī. According to the inscriptions carved on the two last-named buildings, they seem to have been built by earlier kings, and Bāz Bahādur apparently extended them.[1]

Akbar visited Mandū no less than four times during his reign. First, in A.D. 1573, when Adham Khān had shown signs of revolt and he marched in person to chastise him. The Imperial army reached Mandū on the new moon of Dhu-l-Ḥajj, 991 H. Akbar during this visit seems to have enjoyed the hilarity of spirit peculiar to the traditions of the place, for he sent a *firman* to Mubārak Shāh of Khandesh directing him 'to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor'. Mubārak Shāh received this message with great delight and sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to the Emperor.[2]

Akbar visited Mandū for the second time in A.D. 1592, when his son Murād was appointed Governor of Malwa, and he halted there on his way to the Deccan.

His third and fourth visits also were in connexion with his expeditions to the Deccan, and of these there is an authentic record at Mandū in the shape of two inscriptions (dated 1008 and 1009 H.—A.D. 1600–1),[3]

our flood, search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found, beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river." The King obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain to the baths of the palace.' Vide *J.B.R.A.S.*, xxi, p. 371.

[1] *Infra*, pp. 92–100.

[2] *Elliot*, v, 289–90.

[3] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, pp. 26–7.

carved on the walls of the delightful palace styled Nīl Kanth, built by Shāh Budāgh Khān, a governor of Mandū.[1]

Of Akbar's reign there are two more inscriptions in Mandū, one recording the repairs of the royal approach near the Tārāpūr Gate,[2] and the other the restoration of the tomb of Maḥmūd Khaljī already referred to (*supra*, p. 18).

With the extinction of the Khaljī dynasty of Malwa the glory of Mandū seems to have departed, but it enjoyed a respite, first during the six years' rule of Bāz Bahādur, and later during the reign of Jahāngīr, when the Emperor visited the Fort and had its old edifices repaired and also new ones built.[3] Jahāngīr stayed at Mandū for a little over seven months, arriving there on the 6th March 1617, and leaving on the 24th October of the same year.[4] During this period Mandū was the scene of several brilliant functions the account of which is preserved in the Emperor's own *Memoirs*, as also in the several histories of the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, who visited Mandū with the Emperor.

Of the feast of the Shab-i-Barāt the Emperor writes: 'On Thursday evening, the 26th, corresponding with

[1] Budāgh Khān was appointed Governor of Mandū in A.D. 1568. Emperor Jahāngīr (*Memoirs*, Persian text, p. 372) thus describes his visit to the Nīl Kanth: 'On the third day of Amurdad (July, 1617), with the palace ladies I set out to see Nīl Kanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Mandū fort. Shāh Budāgh Khān, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy-giving lodge, during the time he held this province in fief (A.D. 1572–7). I remained at Nīl Kanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my State quarters.'

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 19.

[3] *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 363–4. Jahāngīr spent 3 lacs of rupees on repairs and new buildings.

[4] Kerr's *Voyages*, ix, 335, and *Elliot*, vi, 377.

the 14th Shā'bān, which is the Shab-i-Barāt, I held a meeting in one of the houses of the palace of Nūr Jahān Begam, which was situated in the midst of large tanks, and summoning the Amirs and courtiers to the feast which had been prepared by the Begam, I ordered the attendants to supply the guests with whatever intoxicating drinks they called for. Many asked for drinks, and I ordered that whoever did so should sit according to his *manṣab* and condition. All sorts of roast meats, and fruits by way of relish, were ordered to be placed before every one. It was a wonderful assembly. In the beginning of the evening they lighted lanterns and lamps all round the tanks and buildings, and a lighting-up was carried out the like of which has perhaps never been arranged in any place. The lanterns and lamps cast their reflection on the water, and it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain of fire. A grand entertainment took place, and the drunkards indulged themselves to excess.

A feast was arranged that lighted up the heart,
It was of such beauty as the heart desired.
They flung over this verdant mead
A carpet broad as the field of genius.
From abundance of perfume the feast spread far,
The heavens were a musk-bag by reason of incense,
The delicate ones of the garden (the flowers) became glorious,
The face of each was lighted up like a lamp.'[1]

Mandū abounding in big game, the sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur in the *Memoirs*, one of which may be quoted here: 'On the 7th, as the huntsmen had marked down four tigers, when

[1] *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 385.

two watches and three *gharīs* had passed I went out to hunt them with my ladies. When the tigers came in sight Nūr Jahān Begam submitted that if I would order her she herself would kill the tigers with her gun. I said, "Let it be so." She shot two tigers with one shot each and knocked over the two others with four shots. In the twinkling of an eye she deprived of life the bodies of these four tigers. Until now such shooting was never seen, that from the top of an elephant and inside of a *howdah* six shots should be made and not one miss, so that the four beasts found no opportunity to spring or move. As a reward for this good shooting I gave her a pair of bracelets of diamonds worth 100,000 rupees and scattered 1,000 *ashrafīs* (over her).'[1]

The 1st September 1617 was Jahāngīr's birthday. Campbell has given the following account, based on Roe, Terry, and Corryat's statements: 'The king was forty-five years old, of middle height, stout but proportionately built, and of olive complexion. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Bāz Bahādur's gardens to the east of the Rīwā Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers, and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure-house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed. The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones, as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tressels from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious

[1] *Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 375.

vanities, making a great and glorious show. His swords, targets, and throne were equally rich and splendid. His head, neck, breast, and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazingly large pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags said to contain Rs. 9,000 in silver were changed six times. After this he was weighed against bags containing gold, jewels, and precious stones. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all commodities. Last of all against meal, butter, and corn. Except the silver, which was reserved for the poor, all was said to be distributed to Baniahs (that is, Brahmans). After he was weighed Jahāngīr ascended the throne and had basins of nuts, almonds, and spices of all sorts given him. These the king threw about, and his great men scrambled for them on all fours. Roe thought it not decent that he should scramble. And the king seeing that he stood aloof reached him a basin almost full and poured the contents into his cloak. The physicians noted the king's weight and spoke flatteringly of it. Then the Mughal drank to his nobles in his royal wine and the nobles pledged his health. The king drank also to the Lord Ambassador, whom he always treated with special consideration, and presented him with the cup of gold curiously enamelled and crusted with rubies, turquoises, and emeralds.'[1]

[1] *J.B.R.A.S.*, xix, 194–5. The works quoted by Campbell in this connexion are: (1) Roe in Kerr's *Voyages*, ix, 337–43; (2) Pinkerton's *Voyages*, viii, 35; (3) Terry's *Voyages*, pp. 377 and 403; and (4) Corryat's *Crudities*, iii, L. 2 (extracts unpaged).

Shāhjahān visited Mandū twice, first on the 2nd October 1617,[1] during his father's stay there, on which occasion he presented some magnificent jewels to his father the Emperor,[2] and again in 1621, when he was sum-

[1] Pinkerton's *Voyages*, viii, 39. In the *Waki'at-i-Jahangiri* the date of this event is 11th Shawwāl, 1026 H. Vide *Elliot*, vi, 351.

[2] In the *Memoirs* (*Rogers and Beveridge*, ii, 399–401) the event is narrated thus: 'On Mubarak-shamba (Thursday), the 10th of the month, my son Shāh Jahān produced his own offerings—jewels and jewelled articles, fine cloths, and other rare specimens. These were all laid out in the courtyard of the *jharoka*, and arranged together with the horses and elephants adorned with gold and silver trappings. In order to please him I came down from the *jharoka* and looked through them in detail. Among all these there was a fine ruby they had bought for my son at the port of Goa for 200,000 rupees; its weight was 19½ tanks, or 17 miskals, and 5½ surkhs. There was no ruby in my establishment over 12 tanks, and the jewellers agreed to this valuation. Another was a sapphire, among the offerings of 'Ādil Khān; it weighed 6 tanks and 7 surkhs and was valued at 100,000 rupees. I never before saw a sapphire of such a size and good colour. Another was the Chamkora diamond, also of 'Ādil Khān's; its weight was 1 tank and 6 surkhs, which they valued at 40,000 rupees. The name of Chamkora is derived from this, that there is in the Deccan a plant called *sag-i-Chamkora*. At the time when Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-Mulk conquered Berar he went one day with his ladies round to look at the garden, when one of the women found the diamond in a chamkora vegetable, and took it to Niẓām-ul-Mulk. From that day it became known as the Chamkora diamond, and came into the possession of the present Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān during the interregnum (*fatarat*) of Ahmadnagar. Another was an emerald, also among 'Ādil Khān's offerings. Although it is from a new mine, it is of such a beautiful and delicate colour as I had never before seen. Again, there were two pearls, one of the weight of 64 surkhs, or 2 miskals and 11 surkhs, and it was valued at 25,000 rupees. The other weighed 16 surkhs, and was remarkable for its round shape and exquisite delicacy. It was valued at 12,000 rupees. Another was a diamond from the offerings of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, in weight 1 tank, and valued at 30,000 rupees. There were 150 elephants, out of

moned to the court; but he preferred to stay at Mandū until he had passed the rainy season there.[1]

There is no record of Aurangzeb having visited Mandū; but his reign is commemorated by an inscription which is carved on a gateway, built at the verge of the Malwa plateau, where it suddenly dips into the valley which girdles the Mandū Fort.[2]

In the decline which set in in the Mughal empire after the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas made several incursions into Malwa, and in A.D. 1732 Malhar Rāo Holkar led an army against Diya Bahādur, the Mughal Governor of Mandū, who was defeated and slain at

which three had gold trappings, chains, &c., and nine had silver trappings. Though twenty elephants were put into my private stud, five were very large and celebrated. The first, Nūr-Bakht, which my son presented on the day of meeting, was worth 125,000 rupees. The second, Mahīpatī, from the offerings of 'Ādil Khān, was valued at 100,000 rupees. I gave it the name of Durjansāl. Another, also from his offerings, was Bakht-Baland, and valued at 100,000 rupees; I called it Girān-bar. Another was Quddūs Khān, and the fifth was Imām Riḍa. They were from the offerings of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. Each of the two was valued at 100,000 rupees. Again, there were 100 Arab and Iraq horses, most of which were good horses. Of these, three had jewelled saddles. If the private offerings of my son and those of the rulers of the Deccan were to be written down in detail, it would be too long a business. What I accepted of his presents was worth 2,000,000 rupees. In addition to this he gave his (step-)mother, Nūr Jahān Begam, offerings worth 20,000 rupees, and 60,000 rupees to his other mothers and the Begams. Altogether my son's offerings came to 2,260,000 rupees, or 75,000 *tumāns* of the currency of Iran or 6,780,000 current Turan-khanis. Such offerings had never been made during this dynasty. I showed him much attention and favour, in fact, he is a son who is worthy of grace and kindness. I am very pleased and satisfied with him. May God Almighty allow him to enjoy long life and prosperity!'

[1] *Elliot*, vi, 383–4.

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, p. 20.

Tīrla, a town six miles west of Dhār. As neither the next governor, Muḥammad Khān Bangash, nor his successor, Raja Jai Sing, was able to oust the Marathas, their success was admitted in A.D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bājī Rāo to be the governor of Malwa. The Peshwa, on his appointment, chose Anand Rāo Puār as his deputy. The latter settled at Dhār, the old capital of Paramāras, and since A.D. 1734 Mandū has continued to be part of the territory of the Puārs of Dhār.[1] As this family claims itself to be the descendant of the early Paramāra rulers of Malwa, Malcolm has appropriately observed: 'It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Marathas should by making Dhār the capital of Anand Rāo Puār and his descendants restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the government of the city and territory.'[2]

[1] Malcolm's *Central India*, pp. 78 ff. [2] *Ibid.*

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

Dhar & Mandu

A Sketch for the Sight-seer.

BY

MAJOR C. E. LUARD, I.A., M.A. (OXON.)

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS little book was written at the request of H. H. Raja Udaji Rao Ponwar, K.C.S.I., of Dhar for the visitor, not for the student or archæologist, for those who have a sufficient love of architecture and the great works of the past to make the long journey to this out-of-the-way spot. Those who go to study need no guide they will always find the way un-aided.

Architecture.—No complete examples of Hindu work are met with though the remains of Hindu and Jain temples of the 10th to the 12th century have been freely utilised by the Musalman rulers. These fragments maintain their distinctive style and decorations, save that all forms of gods and goddesses on the pillars have been carefully erased leaving only foliage like traceries. The architecture of the Malwa Sultans belongs to the Pathan school, the Malwa branch having a distinct though less marked individuality than the styles of Jaunpur, Gaur, and Bijapur. Like all mediæval peoples, as soon as circumstances permitted, they commenced erecting places of worship. Being of Turanian stock they had a natural aptitude for building, an aptitude generally lacking in the Semitic family, as witness the Musalman architecture of Arabia and Spain. (At first for want of competent workmen the Sultans have been obliged to employ a style akin to that already existing on the spot and so made use of the remains of Hindu temples in erecting their mosques, but as soon as they felt their feet they swept such adventitious aids aside and gave full play to their individuality as the Jami Masjid, Hindola Mahal and many other buildings at Mandu testify.) The prominent note struck by

these buildings is that of spaciousness combined with simple dignity and, above all, a masculinity entirely lacking in Hindu and Jain edifices, delicate and beautiful as was the work in them. No doubt the red-sandstone may have assisted to some extent in determining the nature of these buildings as the 300 single-block ten foot pillars in the Jami Masjid could scarcely have been hewn from any other material. It will be at once noticed that minarets, an invariable adjunct of Mughal mosques, are nowhere met with : the domes are pointed and plain or only surmounted by a spike, not spheroidal and capped as in later times ; the arches are ogee or pointed and are true arches with no signs of the trabeate Hindu construction, nor is the foliated saracenic arch met with.

In the days of its glory be it remembered, as the blue tiles still clinging here and there to domes and string-course testify, these buildings glowed with colour and must have presented a dazzling spectacle.

If he bears these points in mind the visitor will easily pick out the minor distinguishing feature of this style.

It should be remembered that these ruins were absolutely neglected until 1901-02 during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. Under his support of all that related to the great past, and the keen interest of Captain E. Barnes, then administrator of the Dhar State, steps were taken, after years of neglect, to rescue these magnificent remains from decay.

One other matter may be noticed, in case the visitor is interested in such things, and that is the plant life which differs considerably from that of the plains below. Two trees may be especially mentioned as they were evidently loved by Muhammadans and follow Musalman settlements. One is the ugly fat-stemmed *Adansonia Digitata* the "Baobab" of

Livingstone, supposed locally to have been introduced by the Malwa Sultans and known as the "Khorasani Imli" and the other the beautiful dark green 'Khirni" or *Mimusops hexandra*. The fruit of both is used for eating.

Routes.—Dhar is 34 miles by the direct road from Mhow and 30 from Indore. Mandu is 22 miles from Dhar. A pleasant change can be made by taking the road back *via* Gujri down the Ghats but this route is not to be recommended to inexperienced motor-drivers owing to the very severe gradients and sharp turns.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

DHAR AND MANDU.

General History.

In mediæval days Dhar and Mandu usurped the position of Ujjain and formed the heart of Malwa, that great highland plateau whose rolling plains with their table-like hills, stretch from just north of the sacred Narbada to the *pathar* of Haraoti and the fortress of Chanderi. The tract during these days lay successively in the hands of two lines of rulers, the Paramara Rajputs (800-1310) and the Pathan Sultans of Malwa (1401-1531).

The Paramaras.—The Paramaras or to give them the modern form of the name Ponwars (Pamar, Puar) are one of the four Agni-Kulas (Fire-Races) whose mythical descent is traced from the sacred fire-pit at Mount Abu[1]. Settling first in this region, where the fort of Achalgarh and the town of Chandravati formed their head-quarters, they thence entered Malwa in the ninth century. Their history has been traced in land grants and other records graven in copper or carved on stone and a few literary works, whence the names of twenty-four successive rulers have been culled who reigned from about 800 to 1310. Of these kings, however, only a few are of historical importance. The fourth of this line, Vakpati, is lauded as a dashing warrior but he was perhaps also a man of winning speech, as his name means "Lord of eloquence." He seems to have obtained possession of Ujjain where he must have impressed the hearts of the fair sex, since he is described as "the sun for the eyes of the maidens of Avanti", Avanti being the early name for Ujjain. In the time of his successor Vairasinha

1. J Tod. *Rajas than* I. 83.

(914-941) Dhar is first mentioned as the Paramara capital this king being described as the conqueror of Dhar by the sharp edge (*dhara*) of his sword. In 973 A. D. Munjaraja seventh of his line, also called Vakpati II, succeeded. This ruler was not only a mighty warrior but a man of strong literary proclivities, a trait which seems to have become hereditary in this family. He collected all the literary celebrities of the day at his court and was himself the author of a poem. The writer Merutunga says "when the all accomplished Munja died, Sarasvati, the patron goddess of learning, was left destitute." He was a builder also and is credited with having erected many edifices in Dhar while the biggest of the twelve artificial lakes near the city still recalls his activity by its name Munja-Sagar, and the basin near the Jahaz Mahal at Mandu by its name of Munja-talao. He is also said to have erected buildings at Ujjain. He was succeeded by his brother Sindhuraja (995-1010). Next in succession to him was Raja Bhoja I (1010-1055). He was by far the most famous ruler of this line and is a conspicuous figure in the mediæval history of India. No name, save perhaps that of the popular Vikramaditya of Ujjain, has gathered such a wealth of legend and romance around it. Bhoja was nephew to Munja, who educated him and imbued him with his own love of literature. Many stories are extant of Bhoja's precocity. Later Munja became jealous and even conceived the idea of making away with the boy, who, however, escaped by sending his uncle the following rebuke in verse :—

King Mandhata, who was the ornament of the Krita age, is gone. Where is he (Rama) who built a cause—way across the seas and destroyed the ten-headed demon, Ravana, (in the Treta age) ? Other monarchs like Yudhisthira, Oh king ! also went to heaven (in the Dwapara age). The

earth accompanied none of these with her splendour. Yet, doubtless, she will follow thee (to heaven) in this Kali age.

Succeeding at 15, a few years younger than the Mughal Emperor Babar when he commenced his rule, Bhoja soon found his hands full. Events were moving rapidly introducing a new era in Indian history. Between 1013 and 1030 Mahmud of Ghazni made six expeditions into India taking Mathura, Somnath and Kalanjar. Meanwhile Bhoja was engaged in the innumerable feuds by which the Rajput princes assisted so materially to place India at the mercy of the Muhammadan invader. Warfare with the neighbours on his border was incessant. His general Kulachandra took Anhilwara (now Patan) then the capital of the Gujarat ruler Bhimdeo (1022-1063) and sacked the town so completely that "the sacking of Kulachandra" has become proverbial. Later, however, Bhimdeo retaliated, attacked his enemy and captured him but spared his life. Continually absent on compaigns, occasionally a refugee, Bhoja still contrived to achieve a great reputation not only as a patron of letters but as a writer. His patronage and his writings are constantly referred to, often in extravagant terms and with the grossest exaggeration. A list has been compiled including some twenty-three works of which he was the reputed author or in which he collaborated. They deal with such varied subjects, as Astronomy and Divination, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Poetry and Lexicography. At his court were many of the greatest writers of his day. Building was also a hobby of his and he is credited with works in many places, one record says,

He made the world (a play on the word Jagati, meaning either the world or a building site) worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples dedicated to

Kedareshwara, Rameshwara, Somnath, Sundira, Kala-anala and Rudra.

When all allowance is made for exaggeration and hyperbole the figure of Bhoja still stands out from the mists of antiquity with more certainty than those of most mediæval rulers. In a reign of forty years he cultivated the arts of peace in spite of the constant turmoil going on around him and has thus preserved his name and reputation when all remembrance of his victories and defeats has long vanished. In the words of an inscription in the temple at Udepur (in Gwalior State)

"*He accomplished, ordered, gave, and knew what was not in the power of anybody else; what other praise can be given to the illustrious Bhoja the poet-king.*"

After his day misfortune fell on the Paramaras, dissensions arose and two lines of rulers for a time disputed possession while for thirteen years the kingdom was subject to Gujarat.

The last chief of whom we know is Jayasinha Deva of whom we have a record dated 1310.

Malwa was now falling under Musalman dominion and the Paramara power passed away for ever.

The Malwa Sultans.—In 1235 Altamsh (1210-36) seized Ujjain and sacked Bhilsa, thus destroying the two principal towns of Malwa and establishing Musalman domination in this tract, a domination which practically continued unbroken until 1401. In 1398-99 Timur, "the scourge of God" swept into northern India with his ninety-two regiments of a thousand horse each leaving a stricken country behind him after "Lacs of infidels had been despatched to hell". The central control was thus destroyed and in the resulting confusion Amid Shah Daud, better known as Dilawar Khan Ghori, then governor of Malwa, proclaimed his independence in 1401, starting the dynasty

of the Malwa Sultans. Dying in 1405 he was followed by his son Alp Khan, better known as Hoshang Shah, the founder of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces. He was responsible for the transfer of the capital from Dhar to Mandu. After spending most of his life in fighting with the Gujarat Sultan he died in 1434 and was buried in the fine mausoleum which stands behind the Jami Masjid in that place. His minor son Ghazni Khan was soon murdered by his father-in-law and guardian, who succeeded as Mahmud Khilji (1435-69). Under Mahmud, a capable and energetic ruler, Malwa reached the zenith of her power and comparative peace reigned throughout the tract. His activity was unceasing and it was said of him that his tent became his home and the field of battle his resting place, and yet his administration was marked by the absence of all enmity between Hindus aud Muhammadans. He extended his dominions in all directions, seizing places so far apart as Ajmer and Ranthambhor in Rajputana and Elichpur in the Berars. In 1440, at the invitation of certain nobles, he even advanced against Delhi but was driven back. In the same year he attacked Rana Kumbha of Chitor. The fight was clearly indecisive as the Rana erected the famous tower still standing on the fort at Chitor to commemorate the victory while Mahmud also erected a tower at Mandu. Ghyas-ud-din (1469-1501) succeeded but he had undergone such hardships in his father's day that he made over the government to his son Nasir-ud-din and retired to his harem.

Nasir-ud-din (1500-1511) was notorious for his cruelty and is even said to have poisoned his father, an act which roused such indignation in the Emperor Jahangir that when visiting Mandu in 1616 he had this king's remains disinterred and thrown into the Narbada. Nasir-ud-din was

drowned at Kaliadeh near Ujjain by accidently falling into a tank when drunk. No one daring or caring to rescue such a despicable character.

His second son Azam Humayun, commonly styled Mahmud II (1511-31) succeeded him. The historian says of him that he imagined that kingdoms were ruled by the sword, and he came to grief in trying to carry out his principles. Placing no reliance on his own people he made a Rajput Medini Rai, his minister; later on, distrusting him, he called in Muzaffar Shah the ruler of Gujarat. He was finally taken prisoner by Medini Rai who had joined Rana Sanga of Chitor, but was magnanimously released. This did not deter him from attacking the Rana's successor some years later when he was taken prisoner by the Rana's ally Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and put to death while trying to escape.

The Malwa Sultans minted coins of gold, silver and copper which are found in Mandu and elsewhere.

Malwa thus passed under the Musalman rulers of Gujarat as some four hundred years back it had passed to the Hindu ruler of the same country.

In 1535 Humayun attacked Bahadur Shah and drove him out of Malwa. A period of confusion followed the country being split up into numerous petty chiefships. During the days of the Suri dynasty (1540-54) Sher Shah placed Malwa under Shujaat Khan, also known as Shujawal Khan. On his death his son Baz Bahadur, chiefly famous for his musical talent and his romantic attachment to the beautiful and accomplished Rup Mati, attempted to set up an independent kingdom. He was defeated by Akbar in 1562 and Malwa thenceforth became a Mughal province and remained so until the 18th century.

The Marathas.—In 1725 Udaji Rao Ponwar, a Maratha

officer in the service of the Peshwa Baji Rao, received authority to levy dues in Malwa. In 1732 he defeated the Mughal officer and annexed this tract. The Maratha Ponwars claim descent from the earlier Paramaras and thus a curious turn of Fortune's wheel has brought back into the possession of their ancient dominions the descendants of a line of chiefs whose rule had been in abeyance for 700 years.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

DHAR.

Historical.—The early name of this town given in inscriptions is Dharanagari " the city of sword-blades".

The town is an old one and became of importance under Vairasinha II, fifth of the Paramara rulers. Dhar is so intimately linked with their name and history that it has given rise to the popular verse.—

Where the Paramara is there is Dhar

And where Dhar is there is the Paramara

Without Dhar the Paramara is nothing

So without the Paramara is Dhar.

Many allusions are made to Dhar by the mediæval Sanskrit poets.

During the rule of Bhoja Dhar was recognized throughout India as a seat of learning. It suffered the usual vicissitudes of cities in those days.

In 1300 Ala-ud-din is said to have subdued all Malwa as far as Dhar while Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din's general, halted here in 1310, and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak in 1344, when a famine was raging. In 1397 Dilawar Khan was appointed governor becoming independent in 1401, his son and successor Hoshang Shah finally moving the capital to Mandu, when Dhar lost most of its importance. During the Mughal domination Akbar stopped at Dhar in 1598 while in 1658 Dara Shikoh's men, if not he himself, held the fort during his quarrel with his father the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The old buildings of importance are the fort, Bhojshala, Kamal Maula, the Lat Masjid and the tomb of Abdulla Shah Changal.

On approaching Dhar from the north the first object that strikes the eye is the massive standstone wall of the

old fort. It is typically Muhammadan in structure and was built in the 14th century in the time of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51). In Jahangir's day, however, it had evidently been long disused as he remarks in his diary that "when Sultan Muhamad Tughlak was on his way to the conquest of the Deccan he built a cutstone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant but the space inside is empty of buildings."

The only record in it consists of small iron plate on one of the gates with an inscription to the effect that the gate was put up during the governorship of Asir Beg in the 27th year of the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) 1683.

Just within the gate is the tomb of Bandi Chhor, "the releaser of prisoners." One Hazrat Makbul, a soldier, at his mother's request released all the prisoners in the fort. In struggling with the guard he was beheaded and fell where this tomb now is while his body fought its way some 200 yards further north and lies there. Both tombs are now revered as those of a saint.

Two memorable events are connected with the fort. First the birth of Baji Rao II, the last of the Peshwas, who was born, on January 10th, 1774, while his mother Anandi Bai was taking refuge here. The toy well at which he played is still shewn. Secondly its capture by General Stewart in 1857. Siege-guns were brought up to a mound three hundred yards from the wall and a practicable breach being made after a bombardment of six days, on October 30th a strong party entered, to find the place deserted, the enemy having escaped in rear leaving 9 lakhs worth of treasure behind them. The breach is still visible though partly repaired.

The Bhojshala and Kamal Maula.—In a picturesque corner well shaded by tall trees lie these two buildings.

The Bhojshala or Raja Bhoja's school is a mosque made

by the Musalman rulers of Malwa out of the remains of a Hindu temple of the 11th or 12th century. Its popular title is a misnomer derived from the numerous slabs containing rules of Sanskrit Grammar, placed on the floor of the building so as to be trodden under the feet of the "true believers." On the site of this building there was originally a temple and it was in all probability the temple to Sarasvati which is described in the Sanskrit play of Arjunavarma Paramara's day (1210-16) as "the ornament of the eighty-four squares of Dharanagari." Two slabs were discovered behind the *mihrab* one bearing two *Prakrit* odes of the 11th century (one supposed to have been composed by Raja Bhoja himself) and the other the Sanskrit play mentioned, which praises Arjunvarma. These slabs stand on the north side of the building and are beautiful specimens of the stone-cutter's work.

On two pillars in this building are a curious epitome of Sanskrit inflectional terminations cut to resemble snakes.

In a small enclosure known as Kamal Maula's cemetery near the gate of this building, are four tombs. One is believed to be that of Mahmud Khilji (1435-69) another being that of Shaikh Kamal Maula or Malavi so called from his long residence in Malwa. Over the door is a blue tile inscribed in cufic characters.

The oldest inscription in Dhar was found in this cemetery. It states that Dilawar Khan, then only governor in Malwa under Muhammad Shah repaired the ruined mosques of Dhar in 795 A. H. or 1392 A.D.

Lat Masjid.—The Lat Masjid or pillar-mosque is so called from the great iron pillar lying just outside its gateway. The mosque was erected out of the remains of a temple by Dilawar Khan in 1405. Jahangir calls it the Jami Masjid. Two inscriptions remain, one above the

eastern and a second over the northern door. That on the eastern door proclaims that,

The supporter and helper of the religion of the prophet, Dilawar Khan, who is the chosen one of the most high God and the disciple of that head of a holy order Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, who was a refugee of grandees and a retreat of the saints, built a Jami Masjid in the city of Dhar at a fortunate and auspicious moment on the day of a happy omen. What a beautiful mosque the second Kaaba (i.e., *Mecca) of the world !*

The date is given as 807 A.H. or 1405 A. D. On the northern gate the inscription states that Amid Shah Daud Ghori (Dilawar Khan's full name) erected the mosque on 15th Rajjab 807 or 17th January 1405.

Outside lies the " Lat " or pillar of wrought iron whence the mosque derives its name. Its origin or object is not properly known but it has been suggested that it was a Jayastambha or pillar of victory. This the legend given below seems to support. There is on one side a short inscription stating that Akbar on his way to the Deccan

" *alighted here with great pomp on the 8th Isfandar Muz in the 44th year of his succession corresponding to 1008 Hijra (15th February 1600 A.D.) This is the work of Daud the sculptor (the text has been) composed by Muhamad Masum Nami Bakri (a well known poet of Akbar's court.)*

Jahangir in his diary notes that this pillar was standing when he saw it and adds that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat ordered it to be removed but in this process it fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 ft. and the other 13 ft. Jahangir ordered the big piece to be sent to Agra to be set up as a lamp-post but this was not done.

Some colour is given to the idea that it was a pillar of victory from the following legend.

There is a proverb current now over most of India which is locally connected with this iron pillar. There once lived, it is said, in Dhar city an oil-woman (Telin) of gigantic structure. Her name was Ganga or Gangli Telin. This giantess possessed a pair of scales to match her height and the great bar now lying by the mosque was the beam of her balance the huge stones at its base some of the weights. She often resided at Nalchha, between Dhar and Mandu, and a hill on this road still called Telin-tekri "The oil-woman's hill" was made from the dust shaken out of her gown.

The proverb runs :—

Kahan Raja Bhoja aur Kahan Gangli Telin.

How exalted is Raja Bhoja, and how low is Gangli Telin.

The proverb now-a-days is merely used to express great divergence in position, rank or other qualities.

Behind this there seems, however, to lie a historical fact. In 1042 Bhoja defeated the united forces of Gangayadeva and Jayasinha the latter ruling in Telingana. Their route up from the south would lie along this road and they may well, when confronted by Bhoja, have taken up a position on this hill afterwards known as "Telingana-tekri."

A pithy saying is at once seized on by the people and no better way could be found of expressing admiration for the victors and contempt for the vanquished than the saying.

How exalted is king Bhoja.

How low are his enemies Gangaya and the Telingana.

Traditions vanished, names and deeds were forgotten and the phrase was corrupted but so firmly established that it had to be explained in some way. The transition from Gangaya and Telingana to "Gangi" or "Gangli" and

"Telin" is natural. Gangli is a name of more or less contempt, while a Telin is a low caste woman. Popular ignorance of the past, and a love of the fantastic and improbable veiled the once simple phrase in mystery and the proverb being un-intelligible as applied to the ancient Jayastambha, the question arose who was Gangli Telin, what had the pillar to do with her and why was she compared with Bhoja. The fiction of a giant Telin whose balance beam was the *Lat* and the hill the dust from her dress easily arose in its place.*

Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.—To the south-west of the town on a part of the ancient rampart or *kot*, of which traces are to be seen here and there, stands the Mausoleum of an old saint, Abdulla Shah Changal and beside it the tomb of 40 Muhammadan pilgrims who were massacred here. A tradition existed in the 15th century that Raja Bhoja was converted to Islamism with all his family by this saint and to commemorate this Mahmud Shah Khilji of Malwa in 1445 put up the inscription which still exists. If this refers to Bhoja I (1010-55) it must be pure romance as the Muhammadans had not then reached this part of India at all, but it is quite possible that Bhoja II (1280-1310) may have been obliged to embrace Muhammadanism or at least make a profession of doing so as a political act.

The long inscription runs.

Shaikh Abdulla Changal, may the mercy of God be upon him !

This centre became Muhammadan first by him (and) all the banners of religion were spread.

* Another instance of the corruption of Telingana into Teli is the Teli Mandir on the Gwalior fort. This temple has a roof of the "waggon type" peculiar to Southern India and certainly was on this account originally called the "Telingana Mandir" afterwards corrupted into Teli Mandir.

The infidels made an attack from every wall and each of them rushed with sword and knife. At last they (infidels) wounded those men of religion and after killing them concealed them in a well.

This lion-man came from the centre of religion to this old temple with a large force. He broke the images of the false deities, and turned the idol temple into a mosque.

When Raja Bhoja saw this through wisdom he embraced Islam with the family of all brave warriors.

The Khilji King Mahmud Shah, who is such that by his justice the world has been adorned like paradise,

He built afresh this old structure and this house with its enclosure again became anew.

From the Hijra it was 859 (1455 A.D.) that its date was written anew.

Nothing is known as to who Abdulla Shah Changal was or when he lived.

Brief mention may be made of the many lakes in and round Dhar town, the larger being the Munja-Sagar built by Raja Munja-Vakpati in the 10th century; and also of the modern Kalika Devi temple, picturesquely situated on a small hill above the lotus-shielded waters of a lake, where the family gods of the present rulers are enshrined.

NALCHHA.

On the road to Mandu lies Nalchha. Here Sir John Malcolm, when in political charge of Malwa, used to live from time to time. His house still stands but is in a dilapidated state. In the centre of a small tank near this village is a picturesque stone lamp-post. From this point ruins innumerable of tombs, houses and mosques lead up to the great fort.

MANDU.

Historical.—Mandu also known as Mandogarh and in early days as Mandapdurga must have long been a stronghold of the rulers of Malwa. The mosques on the hill are built with the remains of Hindu and Jain temples of the tenth to the twelfth century which proves Hindu occupation at this period. But until Muhammadan times nothing is known of its history. Ferishta has a tradition as to the building of Mandu by one Deo Bais (a Bais Rajput perhaps) in the fifth century but no historical basis exists for this statement. In 1305 Ain-ul-Mulk, the famous general of Ala-ud-din, was directed to "cleanse that old *gabristan* (cemetery) from the odour of infidelity." This is a curious remark as it implies Muhammadan occupation previous to this date. The fort was taken by surprise and the ruler Rai Mahlak Deo killed, as the historian quaintly puts it, "before even his household gods were aware of it." In 1405 Mandu rose to fresh dignity as the capital of the new Musalman kingdom of Malwa. Like all capitals in those days the great fort passed through many vicissitudes constantly changing its owners as one or other prevailed.

Finally Bahadur Shah ruler of Gujarat seized the fort in 1531. On 20th Rajjab 937 A. H. or 9th March 1531 Bahadur Shah commenced his attack with a cannonade lasting several days. His men, who had been told to find which was the most precipitous part of this fort, reported that the rock near the Songarh gate was by far the steepest on which Bahadur Shah exclaimed "Please God by that way I will get into the fort" and on 20th March with loud cries of "Allah, Allah, Bahadur Shah is coming" they burst into the stronghold.

Mahmud of Malwa hearing of the assault hastened to

the spot but "when his eye fell on the umbrella of Bahadur" he turned and fled and was finally captured, and put to death. Three years later, in 1534 Nemesis overtook the conqueror when Humayun entering at the very same spot, drove out Bahadur Shah who only escaped by letting his horses down the walls by ropes and flying to Gujarat.

The Emperor Sher Shah took Malwa in 1545 and placed a garrison of 10,000 horse and 7,000 matchlock men in Mandu. When the Suri dynasty decayed, Baz Bahadur the son of Shujaat Khan, who had been governor of Malwa under Sher Shah, declared himself independent.

In 1561 Adham Khan Koka, Akbar's general, conquered Malwa and Baz Bahadur was driven out. He contrived, however, to regain possession temporarily but was finally defeated in 1562 and Mandu became the head-quarters of the Mandu *Sarkar* in the Subah of Malwa. Akbar visited the fort in 1564 and 1598 and, as his son tells us, destroyed most of the buildings to prevent the place being used as a base by his enemies. In 1585 the first English travellers visited the spot, two merchants Ralph Fitch and John Newberry passing through on their way to Delhi.

Finch and Jourdain, also English merchants, next passed through, the first in March 1610 and the second in January 1611. They travelled up from Akbarpur a ford on the Narbada below Mandu five or six miles east of the present crossing at Khalghat. Both complain of the road "it is a very bad way" says Jourdain, "both steepe and stonye so that it is greate travaile for any beast to go up laden"; both note the fort's ruined character, there being nothing standing "save only tombs and meskites (masjid or mosque)...aloft on the mountaine are some sixteen faire tankes here and there dispersed about the citie."

In 1616 Jahangir stayed here from March to September

being accompanied by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassdor from James I and a clergyman named Terry. Roe mentions the great straits they were in for water, all the available sources being taken up by the big officials. He also remarks that lions were not allowed to be killed by any one but the Emperor. He describes also how while here the Emperor celebrated his birth-day and was as usual weighed against gold and precious stones. Jahangir and these two travellers have each given entertaining accounts of this place. Their journey reads not unlike a scene from the "Faery Queene." Terry tells how "the ascent is very high and steep and the way to us seemed exceedingly long for we were two whole days climbing up the hill with our carriages... In those vast and far extended woods there are lions and tigers and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our carriages and those lions came about us discovering themselves by their roaring, but we keeping a very good fire they came not near enough to hurt either ourselves or our cattle." He notes the extensive ruins and how amidst all the desolation round them the mosques "held up their heads" and also the fact that none of the emperor's people would use such places although they "were marvellously straightened for room." One of those deserted mosques, however, was occupied by him and Sir Thomas Roe. Their mosque was, he says, on the very edge of the Jungle and wild beasts were constantly carrying off sheep and goats "and it was" he says, "wonderful great mercy those furious ravening and hunger-bit creatures did not make their prey sometimes, in the dark and silent nights, while we were sleeping, on some of our bodies, the forepart of our dwelling standing upon pillars and there was nothing in those open distances that had any strength to keep them from us." One night a lion did

come into the court-yard and carried off my Lord ambassador's "little white neat shock" which ran out barking at him. Their joys were added to by the fact that Jahangir had a lion "a very great lion I often saw which went down among the people...as gently as a dog." One of them shot a tiger "a large beast higher than an ordinary greyhound, with curled hair, a long head and sharp short pricked ears having a mouth filled with cruel teeth".

Jahangir in his diary notes that Akbar destroyed gateways and ramparts to prevent the fort being used by his enemies but that he himself while there spent three lakhs in restoring buildings. He also caused a commemorative coin to be struck in 1618 with a special legend on it. *After the conquest of the Deccan he came from Mandu to Gujarat.* In 1623 Prince Khurrum (Shah Jahan), as he then was, took refuge here when rebelling against his father and later in 1635, after he became emperor, he stayed here during the rains. In 1696 and again in 1709 Marathas entered Mandu but the tract did not pass permanently to Udaji Ponwar until 1732 after the battle of Tirla.

Jahangir also refers to the sport to be had here he writes that "the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagar Lake...when the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the Abadis (body guard) and other men of my retinue. In the end I brought him down with three gunshots". Later on four tigers were marked down. "At one in the afternoon" he says, "I started for the place with Nur Jahan Begam. Nur Jahan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said, "Be it so". In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild

beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafis* (gold coins, about 4,000 rupees in value) to be scattered over Nur Jahan and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

It may be added that lions are now quite unknown any where in Central India and tigers are practically never seen on the hill though in 1817 they were very numerous even dragging troopers from the saddle.

At the Shab-i-barat which took place here the Emperor had the palace illuminated. "The countless lights with which the palace and buildings were illuminated shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire". This refers evidently to the lake at the Jahaz Mahal.

It is interesting to note that in 1820 Sir John Malcolm proposed to make Mandu his summer head-quarters.

The fort has a circuit of nearly 40 miles surrounded by a battlemented wall of Muhammadan design. Within are endless ruins of tombs. mosques and houses some being in a fair state of preservation.

The simplest way of seeing the buildings is to proceed by the bye-road direct to the Hindola Mahal, the Champa Baori, mosque of Dilawar Khan, Jahaz Mahal and Tabela Mahal or guard-room. Then proceed to the furthest point and see Rup Mati and Baz Bahadur's palaces, taking Malik Mughis' mosque and other buildings opposite the Sagar Tal on the way back, completing the survey by viewing the Jami Masjid, tomb of Hoshang Shah and College. This enables one to take the direct road home.

Many other spots deserve a visit but cannot be reached

unless a stay of couple of days or so is made.* The buildings will be described in this order.

Gates.—Of the numerous gates to the fort only three lie in the track of the sight-seer. The first gate passed is the Alamgir gate. This bears an inscription referring to its repair in 1079 A. H or 1668 A. D. by Khan Muhammad Beg Khan. The old paved road leading off to the west of that now followed goes through the "Bhangi" gate, so called from the legend that a sweeper was buried in its foundations, and the picturesque Delhi gate. This last lies near the Hindola Mahal and is a very fine example of Pathan work. The present road passes through the "Gari-darwaza" or carrriage gate.

Hindola Mahal.—This building is most striking in its massive simplicity, the great hall suggesting the dining hall of an Oxford college. At one end there originally existed a gallery closed by a pierced stone screen whence the ladies could watch unseen the orgies of their Lords.

Nahar Jhiroka.—North of this building is the "Nahar Jhiroka" so called from the marble framed window in the north wall whence the Sultan was wont to hear petitions and receive his courtiers' salutations.

Champa Baori.—This subterranean well with its "*tah-khanas*" or cool hot weather retreats, lies just behind while near it stand the remains of some *hamams* or baths. These were necessary adjuncts to the comforts of a palace in those days.

Dilawar Khan's mosque.—The mosque of Dilawar Khan is a picturesque building erected from the remains of a Jain temple. It bears an inscription to the effect that it was built by

* See Appendix A

Nasir-ud-din Dilawar Khan the centre of the law of the Prophet, the refuge of the world, high as the sky in dignity and angel-like appearance.

This was in the Hijri year 808 or 1405 A.D.

Jahaz Mahal and guard-room.—The Jahaz Mahal or "ship palace" takes its name from the lakes between which it stands. These in early days must have reached up to its walls. All round it lie endless ruins buried in creeping plants. The Taweli Mahal or guard-room, popularly said to have been used by the Amazon retainers of Ghias-ud-din lies on the road towards the great mosque.

Palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati —Passing for the moment by the tomb of Hoshang Shah and the great mosque, a picturesque road leads out to the edge of the mighty cliff which bounds Malwa on the south. Here perched on the very edge stands the palace of Rupmati, Baz Bahadur's love, his own palace lying just below near the Rewa Kund.

As regards the origin of these buildings nothing much is known. A fragmentary inscription exists on Rupmati's palace conveying now no sense, while on Baz Bahadur's there is a short record noting its erection in the Hijri year 914 or 1508-9 A.D. in the time of Nasir-ud-din. But Baz Bahadur may well have used it as a palace.

The romantic story of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati, is known throughout India and forms the theme of many a song. The story runs thus :—Baz Bahadur when hunting on this hill was captivated by the singing of Rupmati the daughter of a Rajput, who belonged to Sarangpur (in Dewas). It is said she long refused to accept his addresses but finally consented to do so if he would bring the Narbada or Rewa river up to the summit of the hill. This he contrived to do with the assistance of the river god, who

bade him seek a spring beneath the roots of a tamarisk. Baz Bahadur discovered the source and imprisoned its waters in the Rewa Kund, the picturesque tank which still stands close to his palace. When Adham Khan Koka entered Malwa in 1562 Baz Bahadur was forced to fly and was finally defeated at Sarangpur, Rupmati's home and birth-place. After this defeat Rupmati, deserted by her lover, was left to the mercy of the conqueror and committed suicide to escape. The historian Khafi Khan gives the following short account of her end. Referring to Adham Khan's defeat of Baz Bahadur he adds "An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Baz Bahadur had a Hindu mistress who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindi language. She fell into the hands of Adham Khan on the flight of Baz Bahadur and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes and lay down on her couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep but on endeavouring to wake her on the arrival of the Khan they found that she had taken poison and was already dead."

Songs attributed to Rupmati are still sung in Malwa. A few lines from one may be given—

Aur dhan jorta hai, ri mere
To dhan pyare ke prita punji.
Ane ka jatan kar rakho man men
Tu partit taro deka hun :
Triya ka na lage drishta
Apne kar rakhogi kunji :

Din din barhe sawayo,
Durhi ghatan eko gunji ;
Baz Bahadur ki sneh upar
Nichha char karungi ji aur dhan.

Friend ! let others boast their treasure
Mine's a stock of pure love's pleasure
Safely cared for every part
'Neath that trusty lock my heart.
Safe from other women's peeping
For the key's in my own keeping.
Day by day it grows a little
Never loses e'en a tittle
But through life will ever go
With Baz Bahadur, weal or woe !

(*Translation by Sir A. Cunningham*).

On a clear day the view from Rupmati's palace is magnificent. Below the steep scarp of the Vindhyas, sheer down at one's feet, lies the wide, fertile valley of the Narbada, its sacred stream which confers sanctity on every rivulet and lake within thirty miles, winding slowly through it amid fields well stocked with grain. Beyond lies to the south the sister range of the Satpuras, stretching ridge on ridge down to Tapti river, the lofty peak of Bawangaja, sacred to the Jains, standing out conspicuously.

Mughis-ud-din's Mosque.—Returning by the same road, near the Sagar-tal lake lies the mosque of " Mughis-ud-din ", more correctly that of Humayun Khan, the father of Mahmud Khilji. It bears an inscription on the east gate which states that it was erected on Friday, 4th of Rajjab 835 or 7th March 1432 A. D. by

Masnad-i-Ali Mugith-ud-din-wa-ud-dunya, Ulugh A'zam Humayun, the Khan of seven climes and nine regions (*i.e,* the whole world !)

It is as usual built from the remains of a Hindu or Jain temple. The east gate was once a fine entrance, and the structure generally is admirable in its arrangement.

Two domed buildings stand near the mosque popularly known as the " Dahi-ka-mahal " and " Dahi-ki-chhoti-bahin-ka-mahal." or the tombs of the nurse and her younger sister. Nothing is known about them.

Jami Masjid and Hoshang Shah's tomb.—The Jami Masjid is a truly magnificent example of Pathan architecture of simple, un-adorned, massive grandeur. The inscription on this building shews that it was commenced by Hoshang Shah and completed by Mahmud Khilji. It runs thus :—

" *The mosque of exalted construction : out of respect for it.....the angels, like the pigeons in the kaaba are ever .....hovering around it in sacred procession. The founder .....the king Hoshang Ghori.....when as the result of events borne by the revolution of the merciless sky the sun of his life had ascended the height of the roof* (i.e., *was dying) said to Mahmud Khilji.....The administration of the country and bringing its cultivation to perfection and the driving away of all enemies are the things to perform which I give you my parting advice with all correctness and also to complete the Jami Masjid.*

The date of completion is given as 858 or 1454 A.D.

Hoshang Shah's tomb.—Behind it is the tomb of Hoshang Shah, a great, marble domed mausoleum, thoroughly suited in its dimlit solemnity to be the last resting place of that rough Pathan warrior. On the left pillar of the door-way there are a few lines cut in the marble which record that on 9th Rajjab II of 1070 Hijra or 14th December 1659.

The humble beggar Lutfullah, an engineer, the son of

Ustad Ahmad, architect of Shah Jahan, Khwaja Sadu Rai, Ustad Sheo Ram and Ustad Hamid came on pilgrimage to this tomb and wrote these few words to commemorate it.

A Dharamshala built of Hindu remains and in Hindu style runs along the west of the enclosure. The eave is noticeable and markedly Hindu in its form.

Tomb of Mahmud Khilji—In front of the mosque stand the ruins of what must once have been the most magnificent tomb on the hill. Now only the foundations remain. It is probable that it was originally the tomb of Mahmud Khilji II. One inscription has been found in it, which says that—

During the reign of His Majesty.....the shadow of God Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.....the humble beggar Mahmud Fakir.....son of Sultan Ali Sabzwari was successful in erecting this noble building in the month of Muharram 1014 (May 1605 A.D.)

On the north-east corner are the remains of a circular building which it is conjectured must have been the base of the tower of victory seven storeys high erected by Mahmud in 1443 to commemorate his victory over Rana Kumbha of Chitor. It is mentioned by early travellers. Jourdain says in his journal "In one of these churches there is a very statelie tower of 170 steps to goe upp, built round aboute with many windows curiouslie made. This tower hath six storeys and in every storye chambers for men to lodge in, very pleasantlye contryved and built all with greene stone like marbell." Finch gives a similar account but says there were seven stories which agrees with the statements of other writers.

The rooms below this tomb are popularly said to have been a College.

EPILOGUE.

Reader sit apart for a space and let your mind sink back into the past. Erase the long, unlovely, if useful road, and the throbbing engine from your mind, cover the wide open plain, rich fields and steep slopes with heavy forest and people, that forest with herds of elephants and fierce beasts of prey. Picture yourself riding through its gloom on a rough ill-defined track searching ever on either side for wild beasts and even wilder men. Then conjure up the long line of our Dhar and Mandu pilgrims. The dashing and gallant Prince Vairasinha, the conqueror of Ujjain and captivator of its fair maidens. Munja and Bhoja the scholar kings surrounded by all the wit and erudition of India, but ever hastening from the disputations and recitals of the learned to stem the current of invasion returning to their studies when the foe had been repulsed ; so they pass for ever from the scene, these book loving kings, and builders of delicately carved fanes, driven from their land by rude warriors from the north, who raze the delicate structures to the ground; Dilawar Khan, Hoshang Shah, Mahmud, strong men, mighty fighters living in almost endless turmoil yet seizing on every peaceful moment vouchsafed them to erect the simple, virile buildings which satisfied the artistic cravings of their manly souls.

To the way-farer who had just threaded the mazes of the forest tract how glorious must in this day have been the sight that met his gaze. A town of stately mosques and lofty tombs which hurled back the sun's rays from glistening lapis-lazuli, and emeral coloured domes, a town offering all the luxury and splendour of the time and in its contrast to the weary road just left behind truly deserving its name of Shadiabad "the joyous city".

Their day goes by and in their place stands out for a moment the single figure of that very strong man Sher Shah, who dreaming ever of the restoration of the Afghan supremacy, drove the son of Babar from his newly won throne and yet amid all his toil conciliated the Hindu, introduced revenue and fiscal reforms and trained the officials who passed into Akbar's service and completed the work he founded, and of whom it is recorded "such protection o'ershadowed the world that a cripple was not afraid of a Rustum". Then come "the great Moguls". Akbar, medley of mystic visionary and man of action, inventing new religions and demolishing the walls of Mandu to baulk his rebel subjects; Jahangir "the talented drunkard" and his gifted, wise and kindly wife, the beautiful Nur Jahan, and a vast company of courtiers and retainers, richly caparisoned elephants, prancing steeds, and tame wild beasts; and with him that truly Elizabethan gentleman Sir Thomas Roe, a man we are told "of a pregnant understanding well spoken, learned, industrious and of a comelie personage"; and of stout heart also, who when insulted by an officious minister slung a "case of pistolls" at his saddle bow and exclaimed "these are my frendes them would I trust"; Edward Terry, Fitch, Finch and Jourdain toiling wearily up the steep forest-covered, lion-haunted hill side, from the great sacred stream below. They pass away to give place to bands of wild horsemen, mounted on small hardy steeds, and carrying enormously long spears, who flash upon the scene, vanish and re-appear like phantoms, till finally they overwhelm constituted authority and a new race settles down to possess the land, yet one linked far back through the dim and distant ages with the scholar kings of seven hundred years ago.

دیدم چغدے نشستہ در صبح بگاہ * بر کنگرۂ مقبرۂ شروان شاہ

فریاد کنان زروئی عبرت میگفت * کوآن ھمہ حشمت کجا آن ھمہ جاہ

At dawn I saw an owl seated on the pinnacle of Shirwan Shah's tomb plaintively it uttered its complaint where is all that glory, where all that grandeur gone ?"

THE END.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

A.

OTHER PLACES WHICH MAY BE PROFITABLY VISITED.

Gates.—*Rampol* i.e. Rama's gate. Evidently of considerable age.

Tarapur gate.—This bears two records one stating that Dilawar Khan erected this gate in 809 A.H. or 1405 A.D. in Shadi-abad ("the city of joy"). This name was given to the central part of the fort. The other states that Tahir Muhammad Husain Imad-ud-din, an engineer of the Emperor Akbar repaired the road-way in Muharram 1014 A.H. or May 1605 A.D. The different styles traceable on this gate are interesting.

Songarh gate.—This leads to the curious conical hill forming a sort of keep to the fort. It was here that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Humayun successively entered the fort. The existing gate, however, is modern and was erected by Rani Maina Bai of Dhar in the nineteenth century.

Lawani gate.—A stone pillar and some Hindu remains lie near this gate.

Other gates are the *Jahangirpura* and *Bhagwania*.

Buildings.—*Nilkanth temple.* This was originally a Muhammadan building but has been turned into a temple to Nil-kanth. (Blue throat) one of the names for the god Shiva. It bears an inscription to the effect that

This pleasant building was erected in the time of Akbar in 982 A. H. or 1574 A. D..

While a second records that Akbar halted here in the 44th year of his reign or 1600 A.D.

Hathi Khana. A tomb with four massive pillars supporting the dome, a very unusual feature.

Daria Khan's tomb. This lies on the road from the Jami Masjid to the Sagar Tal.

Chisti Khan's palace. He was a general of Mahmud Khilji.

Badr Shah's School. This lies in the jungle west of the Jahaz Mahal. Some verses exist on a tomb.

Many other unnamed buildings will interest the enthusiast.

B.

List of the Kings.

(Only important names are given.)

PARAMARAS.

A line of rulers is known which includes 24 names in the regular line and some collaterals who ruled during a period of dissension. More important are :-

No. 4 Vakpati --875-914
„ 5 Vairsinha --914-41.
„ 7 Munja --973-995.
„ 9 Bhoja I- 1010-1055.
„ 23 Bhoja II -1280-1310.
„ 24 Jaya Sinha --1310.

SULTANS OF MALWA.

GHORI.

Dilawar Khan—1401.
Hoshang Shah—1405.
Ghazni Khan—1435.

KHILJI

Mahmud I—1435.
Ghyas-ud-din—1469.
Nasir-ud-din—1501.
Mahmud II—1511.
(Bahadur Shah annexed Malwa).

MUGHALS.

Humayun—1530-1555.
Sher Shah—1540-1554.
Akbar—1556-1605
Jahangir—1605-1627.
Shah Jahan—1627-1658.
Aurangzeb—1658-1707.

C.

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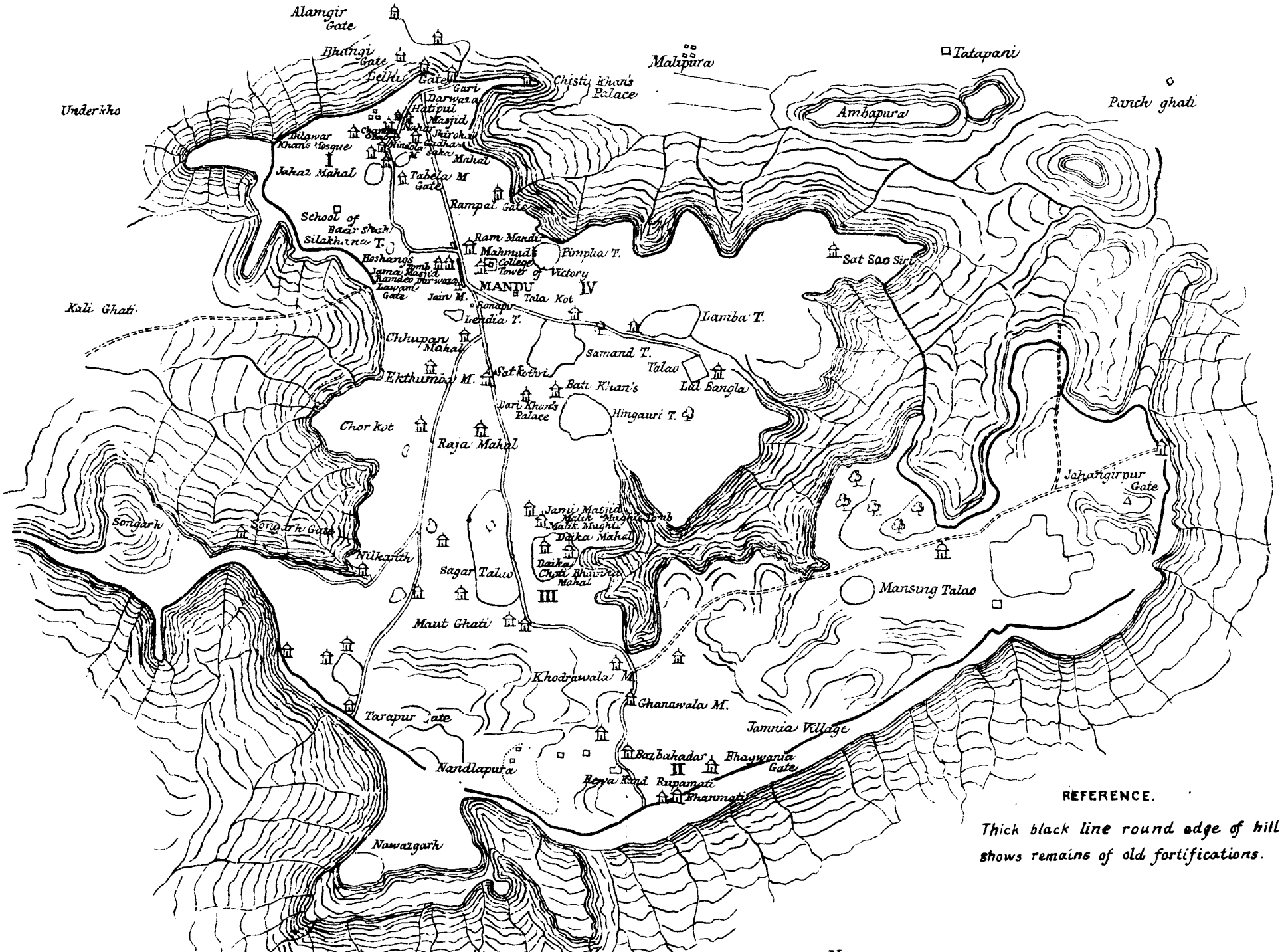
N. B.—Full references to authorities will be found in Nos. 8, 11 12 and 13.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

MAP OF MANDU DHAR STATE,

SHOWING POSITIONS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Scale 1-8232 Inches = 1 Mile.



REFERENCE.

Thick black line round edge of hill shows remains of old fortifications.